OCTOBER 5, 2015

TIME

POPE FRANCIS MEETS AMERICA

By Nancy Gibbs & Elizabeth Dias

The Pope arrives on Sept. 22 for his first U.S. visit

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Cover Story

A Papal View of America

On his first trip to the U.S., Francis finds a nation, and a church, in flux. What his historic visit means for the land that invented separation of church and state

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Photograph by Mandel Ngan—AFP/Getty Images

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What you said about ...

BERNIE SANDERS Sam Frizell's Sept. 28 cover story on Bernie Sanders' presidential campaign divided readers—mostly along political lines. Susan Frommer of Murrieta, Calif., praised TIME for featuring on the cover "a candidate who speaks to the concerns of ordinary Americans," though she viewed the way the article referenced his socialism as a "dig." Those with less affection for Sanders had different reactions. Reba Shimansky of New York City, for example, said the juxtaposition of Democratic candidates was "another example of Hillary bashing." But one Sanders opponent found a way to appreciate the piece anyway: "Thank you for the cover story," wrote O.A. Griffey III of Shreveport, La. "It is a perfect example of why I am a Republican."

> 'Finally, a major magazine puts Bernie Sanders on the cover and gives his campaign a little exposure!'
>
> **MICHELLE MORAN**, Atlanta

AMBITIOUS WOMEN Kristin van Ogtrop's feature on the fraught relationship between women and ambition drew praise from readers like Madhukar Vale of Houghton, Mich., who lamented that women are asked to fit a male-oriented corporate system. As a result, she wrote, "attitudes such as ambition that are complimentary for men [are] pejoratives for women." Van Ogtrop's story was based on results from the second annual TIME and *Real Simple* poll about women and success, and coincided with a live event in New York City. There, at a panel discussion, *Today* show host Savannah Guthrie declared her dislike of the word *ambitious*. "I hate the word," she said. "I think it's impolite."

> 'I. Am. Ambitious. I have been ambitious for as long as I can remember.'
>
> **SENATOR CLAIRE MCCASKILL**, at the *Real Simple*/TIME Women & Success event on Sept. 17

BEHIND THE STORY TIME religion correspondent Elizabeth Dias *(center)* joined Pope Francis and John L. Allen Jr., author of a TIME book on the Pontiff, on "Shepherd One" before the Pope's visit to the U.S.

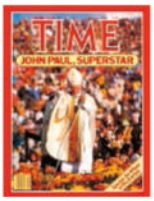
PIUS XI
(June 16, 1924)

PIUS XII
(Dec. 14, 1953)

JOHN XXIII
(Jan. 4, 1963)

PAUL VI
(June 28, 1963)

JOHN PAUL I
(Sept. 4, 1978)



JOHN PAUL II
(Oct. 15, 1979)

BENEDICT XVI
(May 2, 2005)

FRANCIS
(March 25, 2013)

BACK IN *TIME* Since the days of Pope Pius XI, who held the title when this magazine was founded, TIME has reported closely on the Vatican—a tradition that continues with this week's Pope Francis cover. See these issues and more at time.com/vault.

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‘The only thing that separates women of color from anyone else is opportunity.’

VIOLA DAVIS, actor, after becoming the first African-American woman to win an Emmy for best actress in a drama series; “You cannot win an Emmy for roles that are simply not there,” the star of *How to Get Away With Murder* said

Apples
A new study says they’re the most popular fruit among U.S. kids and teens

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Peanuts
A former peanut executive was sentenced to prison for covering up a salmonella outbreak

‘THIS SLOGAN THAT IS CHANTED IS NOT A SLOGAN AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.’

IRANIAN PRESIDENT HASSAN ROUHANI, saying that when Iranians chant, “Death to America,” they don’t mean they want to kill Americans; they just object to American policies

200

Number of times a Cornell University graduate student **allowed bees to sting him** as he studied whether the stings hurt more on some body parts than others

96%

Percentage of former NFL players who **tested positive for brain disease** in a new study

‘I WOULD NOT ADVOCATE THAT WE PUT A MUSLIM IN CHARGE OF THIS NATION.’

BEN CARSON, Republican presidential candidate, arguing that Islam is incompatible with the Constitution. He later modified his statement, saying it would be O.K. if Muslims put the Constitution “above their religious beliefs”

‘We don’t ever want to sell or go public.’

YANCEY STRICKLER, Kickstarter CEO, as the popular online crowdfunding site was reincorporated as a so-called public benefit corporation

$3.3 billion

Amount the IRS says Coca-Cola owes in back taxes; the company is disputing the assessment

‘As the son of an immigrant family, I am happy to be a guest in this country.’

POPE FRANCIS, hailing the U.S. as a country “largely built” by immigrant families, as he kicked off his historic first visit

DAVIS, APPLE, PEANUT: GETTY IMAGES; ROUHANI, STRICKLER, CARSON: AP; ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'IF JAPAN BECOMES MILITARILY AGGRESSIVE, IN EAST ASIA OR ANYWHERE ELSE, COSTS WILL BECOME UNSUSTAINABLE.' —PAGE 12

Volkswagen purposefully built millions of cars that could cheat on regulators' emissions tests

AXEL SCHMIDT—REUTERS

AUTOS

A diesel deception at VW shows new curves ahead for carmakers

By Matt Vella

SO MUCH FOR "TRUTH IN ENGINEERING." Volkswagen's tagline for its luxury models—this time gilded with mockery—began ricocheting around the web on Sept. 18 after the EPA accused the company of installing illegal software in its diesel engines to skirt environmental standards. The technology, designed to conceal emissions of nitrogen oxide—a potent contributor to smog as well as asthma, lung cancer and a variety of respiratory diseases—affects some 482,000 VW and Audi diesel cars sold in the U.S. since 2008.

VW, the German giant that became the world's top automaker by sales earlier this year, ultimately admitted to systematically cheating on its exams as it halted sales of 2015 and 2016 VW Passat, Jetta, Golf, Beetle and Audi A3 models equipped with the system. (Turns out, the vehicles emit 10 to 40 times more pollution than advertised under normal driving conditions; see the sidebar on the next page.)

The circus that has followed fits a familiar pattern. First, the apologies: "At this point, I don't have the answers to all the questions," Volkswagen's CEO, Martin Winterkorn, said in an online video. "But we're in the process of ruthlessly investigating the issue." Michael Horn, head of VW in America, appeared briefly at a launch event for the new Passat in Brooklyn on the evening of Sept. 21, where he said bluntly, "We have totally screwed up." By Sept. 23, Winterkorn was out.

Next: the costs. Under EPA rules, VW faces civil penalties of $37,500 for each vehicle not in compliance with

federal clean-air rules—or up to $18 billion in all. The U.S. Justice Department launched a criminal probe. And the fracas triggered a lawsuit filed by lawyers including Steve Berman, who is co-leading litigation against General Motors over faulty ignition switches. The suit accuses VW of fraudulent concealment and false advertising, among other misdeeds.

Regulators in South Korea, Germany, France and Italy are now demanding similar investigations. (Volkswagen says as many as 11 million cars are affected globally.) In China, where the company has reluctantly recalled more than 1 million vehicles in the past two years after initially resisting consumer complaints over faulty gearboxes and other issues, the scandal risks damaging the company even more. "This goes beyond the diesels," says Jeremy Robinson-Leon, COO of Group Gordon, a corporate and crisis PR firm based in New York City. "If I'm thinking about buying a VW car, or if I already own one, I'd be thinking, What else is the company hiding?"

The scandal is a particularly cruel turn for Volkswagen's U.S. customers, a relatively small but loyal bunch. VW, through consistently savvy advertising, has always sought to make its cars' quirks a selling point—including diesel power itself. Though the technology is widespread throughout Europe, VW invested heavily over the past decade in marketing the concept to Americans as a green alternative to hybrids without the typical tradeoffs in acceleration or handling. "I feel like I was duped, like I was lied to," says Ashley Scarpa, a longtime VW customer who lives in Lakeland, Fla. The 35-year-old restaurant owner bought a 2014 Passat TDI. She says it's unlikely her next car will be a VW.

More than customer service or corporate crisis management is at stake. VW's diesel bomb is only the latest in a series of episodes that have snared GM, Toyota and other global automakers, eroding consumers' trust in old-line manufacturers. That matters more than ever as the role technology plays in cars grows and the allure of horsepower and torque steadily gives way to gigabytes and wi-fi. (Though not yet certain, VW's fix will most likely consist of a software patch that reduces emissions—as well as driving performance.)

Transportation in general, and cars specifically, are a growing target for disruption by Silicon Valley companies that feel they are reaching the limits of what can be achieved in Internet software and handheld gadgets. Tesla, the electric-car company founded by Elon Musk, has eschewed traditional tactics, revamping how its cars are marketed and sold. Google and Uber are both working on self-driving vehicles. And just as VW ground to a halt, reports emerged that Apple is moving ahead with a bid to bring a car of its own to market by 2019.

If there's any car company with the marketing chops to find a clever way to say "We're sorry," it is Volkswagen. Finding a strategy to fend off competitors with no legacy whatsoever would be another matter altogether. —*With reporting by* BEN GEIER *and* VICTOR LUCKERSON *in New York* ◻

How Volkswagen cheated

1. INSTALL 'DEFEAT DEVICE'
Volkswagen installed software—known as a "defeat device"—in cars' electronic control module, which alters engine performance. Such devices are banned by the Clean Air Act.

2. DETECT TEST
The device was able to surmise when a car was being tested for emissions by measuring inputs such as steering-wheel position, vehicle speed and barometric pressure.

3. ALTER EMISSIONS
The defeat device then switched the vehicle's emissions system to "dyno calibration," drastically lowering emissions to comply with EPA standards.

4. REVERT TO NORMAL
Outside of tests, vehicles automatically switched to a "road calibration" mode that released nitrogen oxides at up to 40 times EPA-compliant levels.

TRENDING

ENVIRONMENT
Democratic presidential front runner Hillary Clinton **came out against the Keystone XL pipeline** on Sept. 22, siding with environmental and liberal groups on the pipeline intended to link Canadian oil-sands crude with the Gulf of Mexico.

COPYRIGHT
The rights to **a selfie taken by an Indonesian macaque** in 2011 should belong to the animal itself, argues a lawsuit filed on Sept. 22 by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, and not to David Slater, the photographer who engineered the shot.

DIPLOMACY
President Xi Jinping of China arrived in the U.S. on Sept. 22 for a seven-day trip that will include a state dinner at the White House. Xi's visit comes amid **simmering tensions between China and the U.S.** over cybersecurity and China's military buildup.

STANDOFF Burkina Faso citizens stand near a flaming tire during a Sept. 21 protest in the capital, Ouagadougou, after a military coup that began on Sept. 16. Protests erupted when a commission advised the coup leaders to stand down but also recommended lifting a ban on candidates affiliated with former ruler Blaise Compaoré. Interim president Michel Kafando returned to his position on Sept. 23, ending the coup. *Photograph by Sia Kambou—AFP/Getty Images*

BIG QUESTION

Which U.S. states take in the most refugees?

As Europe continues to grapple with record numbers of migrants arriving on its shores, many of them refugees from Syria, Secretary of State John Kerry announced on Sept. 20 that the U.S. would accept 100,000 refugees annually by 2017, up from the total of 69,986 refugees given asylum in 2014. These are the states that took in the most last year:

TEXAS
The nation's second largest state by area continues to lead in refugee resettlement, taking in 7,214 last year alone, a majority coming from Burma and Iraq.

CALIFORNIA
The Golden State helped settle 6,108 refugees, many of them from Iran. Los Angeles is known for having the largest Persian population outside of Iran.

MICHIGAN
The state is already home to strong Arab-American communities in cities like Dearborn. It welcomed 4,006 refugees in 2014.

Mother and son at a refugee camp

NEW YORK
Known for its diverse immigrant population in urban areas, the state took in 4,082 refugees last year, many of them coming from Somalia and Burma.

FLORIDA
The majority of the 3,519 seeking refuge in Florida came from Cuba, joining a well-established community of Cuban exiles.

ARIZONA
This notoriously anti-immigration state is relatively pro-refugee, taking in 2,964 last year.

DATA

CHEAPEST CITIES TO RENT IN

A recent UBS report compared purchasing power in 71 major cities around the world. Here's a sampling of where unfurnished three-room apartments rent for the lowest monthly prices:

Athens
$850

Warsaw
$840

Cairo
$780

Kuala Lumpur
$630

Kiev, Ukraine
$540

Sofia, Bulgaria
$350

MONKEY, XI: AP; REFUGEES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES

TRENDING

MILITARY
President Obama nominated **Eric Fanning, an openly gay man, to be Secretary of the Army.** If confirmed by the Senate, the former top adviser to Defense Secretary Ash Carter would be the first openly gay civilian to lead a branch of the military.

SCANDAL
British Prime Minister David Cameron was accused of **performing a lewd prank with a pig's head** while at Oxford University in a new biography by a former Conservative Party treasurer and peer. Cameron's spokeswoman said she would not dignify the report with a response.

SPORTS
Japan beat South Africa at rugby in **one of the most shocking upsets in world sports** during the Rugby World Cup group stages on Sept. 19 in England. Japan had been given 66-1 odds against beating the two-time world champions and had not won a World Cup match in 24 years.

THE RISK REPORT

The world doesn't have to fear Japan

By Ian Bremmer

TROUBLE IN THE EAST CHINA SEA BEtween China and Japan, the world's second and third largest economies, has been an uncomfortable undercurrent in global affairs. Now, 70 years after the end of World War II, ostensibly pacifist Japan has passed legislation that expands the role and reach of its military. The angry reaction from the Chinese and South Korean governments that followed owe as much to domestic politics as to memories of WW II–era Japanese militarism. Some fear that Japan's move signals that East Asia will become the world's next danger zone.

But breathe easier—East Asia is one region we don't have to worry about.

First, it's much easier to pass a new law than to build a new military. That's especially true in Japan, which doesn't have much more money to spend on defense. The country's debt is already approaching 250% of GDP, and the International Monetary Fund warned this summer that it will rise to as much as three times the size of Japan's economy within 15 years unless the government reins in spending. The country's rapidly aging population demands progressively higher spending on pensions and health care. That's why Japan's Ministry of Defense is asking for a bump in military spending of just 2.2% for next year, a rise that owes more to increased costs imposed by a weaker yen than a desire to beat China, which is recording double-digit increases in military spending.

Nor is there public support in Japan for a more hawkish foreign policy. The new law has eroded Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's popularity and provoked intense protests inside and outside Japan's parliament. According to a recent Pew survey, 68% of Japanese want to limit Japan's military activity, while only 23% want the country to be more active. If Japan becomes militarily aggressive, costs will become unsustainable and opposition to Abe will become entrenched.

> Abe wants to demonstrate Japan's commitment to the military alliance with the U.S.

So if it's expensive and unpopular, why did the Prime Minister push for this change? Abe wants to demonstrate Japan's commitment to the military alliance with the U.S. by showing a willingness to become a more active partner. The U.S.-Japan alliance, not a stronger Japanese military on its own, is crucial for countering China's expansion.

In addition, many members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) are more hawkish than the average Japanese. Appeasing them helps Abe build and maintain support within the LDP for his more important drive for economic reform. And the economy is one more reason Japan is not about to stoke conflict. China is Japan's largest trade partner. We may see more Japanese patrol boats in the East China Sea, but we're no more likely to see open conflict than we were before this law passed. □

FANNING: AP; CAMERON, RUGBY: GETTY IMAGES; TSIPRAS: REUTERS

BY THE NUMBERS

Drug-price hikes

New York–based Turing Pharmaceuticals recently caught flak for buying an old medication (the drug Daraprim, used to treat a dangerous parasite) and dramatically raising its price to make a profit—from $13.50 to $750 per pill. Although Turing reversed course, a health care industry group cites other examples to show such hikes are becoming common.

—Alexandra Sifferlin

	DOXYCYCLINE HYCLATE Common antibiotic	ALBUTEROL SULFATE Used to treat asthma	GLYCOPYRROLATE Used to treat irregular heartbeats during surgery
	4¢ per tablet in 2013	11¢ per tablet in 2013	$6.50 per vial in 2013
	$3.70 per tablet in 2014	$4.34 per tablet in 2014	$127.70 per vial in 2014
	+8,281%	+4,014%	+2,728%

Percentages reflect price reporting variations noted in study

ROUNDUP

The trials facing Tsipras

Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras won a second general election in under nine months on Sept. 20, overcoming a revolt by far-left MPs angry at his decision to accept austerity measures in exchange for a euro-zone bailout. Now, the hard work begins:

BAILOUT MEASURES
Tsipras must push a host of reforms and austerity measures through Parliament—including welfare cuts, tax increases and pension changes—in order to implement the terms of a third bailout and appease Greece's creditors ahead of the next deadline.

THE MIGRANT CRISIS
Over 260,000 refugees and migrants have arrived in Greece so far this year, and Greek authorities are struggling to feed and shelter thousands arriving every day. Tsipras plans to lobby fellow E.U. leaders to do more to tackle the worsening crisis.

RISE OF THE RIGHT
The neofascist party Golden Dawn took 7% of the vote to remain Greece's third largest party but saw support surge on Greek islands dealing with the migrant crisis. The party's youthful and loyal base of support could prove an obstacle to future stability.

Tsipras at a May 18 conference in Athens

DIGOXIN
Used to treat irregular heartbeats and heart failure

11¢ per tablet in 2012
↓
$1.10 per tablet in 2014
↓
+884%

DIVALPROEX SODIUM ER
Used to prevent migraines and certain seizures

39¢ per tablet in 2013
↓
$2.93 per tablet in 2014
↓
+736%

PRAVASTATIN SODIUM
Used to treat high cholesterol and prevent heart disease

5¢ per tablet in 2013
↓
39¢ per tablet in 2014
↓
+573%

SOURCES: U.S. GOVERNMENT; HEALTHCARE SUPPLY CHAIN ASSOCIATION

SYRIA

The U.S. war against ISIS is going nowhere

By Mark Thompson

THE FIRST BATCH OF SPECIALLY TRAINED MODERATE Syrian rebels deployed into their war-torn country in late July had been taught to kill with U.S. M-16 rifles loaded with American ammo. They communicated over U.S. radios. Their gear wasn't surprising: as the vanguard of President Barack Obama's force to "degrade and destroy" the Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS), they had been outfitted by the U.S. military. "This group was deemed adequately trained," says Navy Commander Kyle Raines, a spokesman for U.S. Central Command, which is responsible for the program.

The Defense Department may need to redefine the meaning of *adequacy*. The U.S.-trained Syrian rebels were no match for the scale of their mission. There were only 54 of them, just one more than a full NFL football-team roster. The rebels, who were operating out of the northwestern Syrian town of Marianeen, had scant information from local residents. So in the dark were the rebels that before they could draw a bead on ISIS, they were attacked by the Nusra Front, an al-Qaeda offshoot also operating in Syria. The U.S.-trained rebels who weren't killed or captured fled. "The American effort has failed in form and function," says a recently retired U.S. four-star general. "It will need to be completely reworked or dropped as a failure."

THIS IS NOT how it was supposed to go. This spring, Army General Lloyd Austin, chief of Central Command, was telling Congress that "we are making significant progress" and ISIS "is losing this fight." But now that fall has arrived, the President's generals are repeatedly using another word to describe the campaign: *stalemate*. Others are more blunt. "It's a mess," says Anthony Zinni, a retired Marine general who headed Central Command from 1997 to 2000.

The war could be going even worse than it appears. U.S. intelligence analysts at Centcom headquarters in Tampa have alleged that their military superiors have been skewing their intelligence assessments to make it appear that the ISIS campaign is going better than it actually is.

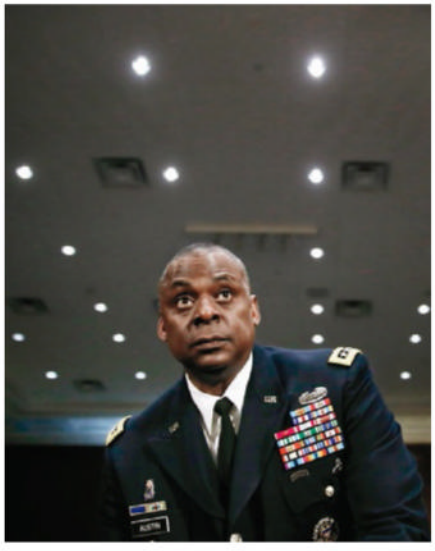
However the war is being presented, there are few good options available for the U.S. military in Syria. President Bashar Assad is fighting for his life, politically and otherwise, against an array of rebel factions, including ISIS. The rebel groups are fighting among themselves for supremacy. Kurdish forces are fighting ISIS with U.S. help, but the U.S.'s NATO ally Turkey is fighting the Kurds as well, complicating potential alliances. The four-year-long civil war

has allowed both Iran and Russia, longtime allies of Assad's, to expand their influence inside Syria, while the chaos has triggered the biggest refugee crisis in Europe since the end of World War II.

Russia has raised the stakes in recent weeks by dispatching warplanes, T-90 tanks, air-defense systems and housing for 2,000 troops to a base outside the Syrian city of Latakia, 150 miles north of the capital, Damascus. Moscow's moves prompted Defense Secretary Ashton Carter to speak to his Russian counterpart Sept. 18 for the first time since Carter took office in February to avoid inadvertent clashes between nuclear-armed superpowers. While Secretary of State John Kerry tried to put a positive spin on the Russian moves by claiming that Moscow might help push Assad out of power, few analysts agree.

It's easy to see why Obama never wanted to become involved in a disintegrating Syria. The President initially rebuffed advice from then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta and CIA chief and former Army general David Petraeus that the U.S. arm Syrian rebels back in 2012, when there were more—and more moderate—locals to enlist in the fight. But once ISIS moved into Iraq in 2014 and beheadings of Westerners began, Obama relented. He ordered U.S. air strikes against ISIS—7,000 to date, according to the Pentagon. But mindful of the war in Iraq, Obama ruled out sending U.S. ground troops to the region to directly fight ISIS, instead ordering the Pentagon to launch a $500 million push to arm and train the dwindling number of ideologically moderate Syrian rebels. They were to constitute the ground forces America would not commit.

FROM THE START, political considerations hampered what military planners considered the least bad option. The Administration's goal was to vet, school and outfit 3,000 "moderate" Syrian rebels in 2015, rising to a brigade-sized 5,400 in 2016. The Pentagon acknowledged that the moderate Syrian opposition meant to make up this force was leaderless, rudderless and salted with questionable characters. But military officers never like to say no to the Commander in Chief. "We have the finest troops in the world," Austin tellingly informed a Senate committee on Sept. 16, "and they will figure out a way to get the job done one way or the other."



General Lloyd Austin, head of U.S. Central Command, prepares to testify to Congress on Sept. 16

SHRINKING ARMY

3,000 Original number of Syrian rebels to be trained by the U.S. in 2015	**90** Initial group of rebels who entered training in May
54 Final size of first group sent into Syria	**9** Number of rebels from initial group still fighting in Syria

It was hard enough to find moderate Syrian rebels by the spring of 2015, but Washington further reduced its chances of success by demanding that the U.S.-trained rebels pledge to fight ISIS only—not Assad, the brutal dictator whose family has ruled Syria for 45 years. Assad's decision to squash domestic opposition following 2011's Arab Spring sparked the ongoing civil war, which has killed more than 200,000 people, forced 4 million Syrians to flee the country and created the environment that only further nurtured ISIS. "The rebels only organized to save their families, neighborhoods and cities from Assad's massive genocide," says Jack Keane, a retired four-star Army general. "When we decided we were only going to bring in rebels who would only fight ISIS, we wrote off 90%-plus of them." That slowed the number of recruits trained by the U.S. to a trickle. The first group of 90 began training in May, with 120 more in the pipeline. About 70 of them recently entered Syria, Centcom said Sept. 21. While much of the training is happening in neighboring Turkey, Jordan, Qatar and Saudi Arabia have also agreed to host U.S. troops working with the rebels.

THE JULY FIASCO, U.S. officials have suggested, shouldn't be blamed on Washington. "We don't have direct command and control with those forces once we do finish training and equipping them when we put them back into the fight," says Marine Corps Brigadier General Kevin J. Killea, a leader in the anti-ISIS campaign. And while U.S.-led air strikes eventually came to the rebels' aid, that didn't avert catastrophe. According to Centcom, only 20 of the 54 original recruits remain in the program. Nine of the 20 are fighting in Syria. Fourteen others have joined other rebel factions, 18 are MIA, one is being held by the Nusra Front, and one is believed to have been killed. "It is key to the success of the new Syrian forces that they will have a degree of protection," Army General Martin Dempsey, the outgoing Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said last spring. "We're not going to be able to recruit men into that force unless we agree to support them at some level." It's far from clear that U.S. support will be better next time.

Even if the U.S. achieves its goal of training up to 15,000 rebels by 2018, it will be too few, far too late. "You're not going to have three years," says Anthony Cordesman, a military analyst with the Center for Strategic & International Studies. U.S. intelligence has estimated that ISIS has as many as 30,000 fighters, and it has been able to replace its soldiers as fast as they are killed.

The Pentagon, eager to extricate it-

AUSTIN: CHIP SOMODEVILLA—GETTY IMAGES; COLLINS: CAMERA PRESS/MICHAEL CHILDERS STUDIO VIA REDUX; WALKER: GETTY IMAGES

self from what is increasingly looking like a morass, may relax its strict vetting standards so it can arm more rebels. Instead of screening each rebel, it may end up scrutinizing only the leaders. And instead of building entire combat units, soldier by soldier, handfuls of U.S.-trained fighters might be attached to battle-hardened Kurdish and Arab units already in combat. They'd be less of an army and more like special forces, collecting intelligence on the ground and calling in air strikes, especially against ISIS's capital, Raqqa, in north-central Syria. The U.S. is also likely to cut its annual training goal of 5,400 by as much as 90% (assuming that Congress, which has been a bystander in the campaign, approves funding beyond 2016).

> 'When we decided we were only going to bring in rebels who would only fight ISIS, we wrote off 90%-plus of them.'
>
> **JACK KEANE**, retired four-star Army general

In another blow to the effort, retired Marine general John Allen, in charge of the Administration's diplomatic efforts to build an anti-ISIS coalition, is stepping down after a year in the post. He has been frustrated by the Pentagon's reluctance to take more aggressive actions, including using airpower to create a safe zone for refugees.

Republican presidential candidates believe more U.S. military might is the answer. "I intend to destroy radical Islam," Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina told Fox News Sept. 20. But there is no guarantee that tougher action—by the U.S. or anyone else—can fix the ongoing tragedy that is Syria. Over the past 15 years, the U.S. has tried several military strategies in this part of the world: in Iraq (massive ground-force invasion), Afghanistan (smaller ground-force invasion), Libya (overt air war supporting local forces on the ground) and Yemen (secret drone campaign). None has completely succeeded. It may simply be that there is no military solution to Syria—and perhaps no solution at all. ◻

Milestones

Collins in 2001

DIED

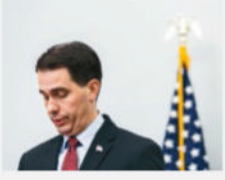
Jackie Collins
Hollywood novelist

IT'S UNSURPRISING THAT NOVELIST JACKIE Collins, despite some acting credits to her name, walked away from onscreen work in the 1960s. She was meant to be the star of the show, not a supporting player. With her sister Joan (the star of TV soap opera *Dynasty*), Collins came to represent the decadence of 1980s Hollywood, making a fortune through scandalous novels like *Hollywood Wives, Hollywood Husbands* and (what else?) *Hollywood Kids.*

Collins, who died Sept. 19 at 77, was a provocateur, one of literature's best. The famed romance novelist Barbara Cartland called Collins' first novel, 1968's *The World Is Full of Married Men,* "nasty, filthy and disgusting." And in 2010, Collins bragged that real Hollywood wives "hated me. I got beneath the facade and into the mansions." But she was also an inveterate hard worker, writing each day in longhand on legal pads. Her final novel, *The Santangelos,* came out in June.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

WITHDREW
From the Republican presidential race, Wisconsin Governor **Scott Walker.** The once promising 2016 hopeful had seen his support collapse in the polls amid lackluster debate performances and the rise of real estate mogul Donald Trump. Walker urged more candidates to withdraw "so that the voters can focus on a limited number of candidates who can offer a positive, conservative alternative" to Trump.



Walker

RULED
By a federal judge, that the song **"Happy Birthday to You"** is in the public domain and not protected by copyright. The ruling invalidated a copyright first filed in 1935 by the Clayton F. Summy Co. The decision means that Warner/Chappell Music, which acquired a Clayton F. Summy Co. successor, can no longer collect royalties for use of the song.

DIED
› Poet **C.K. Williams,** 78, who won the Pulitzer Prize in 2000 for his book *Repair* and the National Book Award in 2003 for *The Singing.*
› **Daniel Thompson**, 94, who invented the automated bagelmaking machine, bringing the onetime ethnic food to the masses (and changing its recipe and texture in the process). He also invented the folding ping-pong table on wheels.

Berra during spring training for the New York Yankees

Yogi Berra
Baseball legend, accidental philosopher

YOGI BERRA, WHO DIED ON SEPT. 22, AT 90, WAS BASEBALL'S LIVING, breathing melon-headed mascot, its most lovable uncle. His famous pearls of street wisdom, like "It ain't over till it's over" and "It's déjà vu all over again," became part of the lexicon. For his accidental comedy, Berra's popularity will always stretch far beyond the ballpark. He's a national treasure.

But on the occasion of his passing, let's not forget Berra's athletic excellence. During his 18 seasons playing in a New York Yankees uniform, from 1946 to '63, the team reached the World Series 14 times and won 10 titles. He is baseball's Lord of the Rings: no player owns more championship jewelry. Berra was one of just two catchers to win three league MVP awards, in 1951, '54 and '55. He made 8,359 regular-season plate appearances in his career and struck out just 414 times, a scarily impressive contact rate for a power hitter who also smacked 348 home runs. Through the lens of today's advanced metrics, Berra more than measures up on defense. A less quantitative snapshot of his skill behind the plate: Berra leaping into the arms of Don Larsen after the Yankees pitcher hurled a perfect game in the 1956 World Series.

Still, Berra's goofy side will—and should—leave the most permanent mark. Berra, who grew up in St. Louis as the son of Italian immigrants, may not have invented some of the phrases attributed to him. "I really didn't say everything I said," he once said. It doesn't matter. They're his. And he was ours. America has lost an all-timer. —SEAN GREGORY

Yogi-isms
A sampling of wisdom credited to Berra over the years

'YOU CAN OBSERVE A LOT BY WATCHING.'

'When you come to a fork in the road, take it.'

'IT'S DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN.'

'It ain't over till it's over.'

'BASEBALL IS 90% MENTAL. THE OTHER HALF IS PHYSICAL.'

'I usually take a two-hour nap from 1 to 4.'

'WE MADE TOO MANY WRONG MISTAKES.'

'The future ain't what it used to be.'

'A NICKEL AIN'T WORTH A DIME ANYMORE.'

'It gets late early out here.'

'NEVER ANSWER AN ANONYMOUS LETTER.'

'I really didn't say everything I said.'

AP

“I taught her how to ride a bike. I can teach her how to run my company.”
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Is a 529 account the best way to save for college? Maybe not. Here's why

By Dan Kadlec

WHEN NICK AND TARA POTO ARRIVED home with their newborn three years ago, the Glen Rock, N.J., couple promptly opened a 529 college-savings plan. Then they checked with their accountant, who asked that they think twice before contributing another dime. "He convinced us we should be thinking future forward," says Tara, a social-media and marketing executive. "We don't know what college will look like in 15 years. Maybe there is a better way to save."

Over the past two decades, the 529 has been the most popular way to save for college, with a record $258 billion now in more than 12 million accounts. Contributions grow tax-free and may reduce your state income tax. But upheaval in higher education, combined with the rigidity of the 529, has led some parents and advisers to consider other options. "These are no longer a no-brainer," says Wes Brown, a wealth adviser at Rather & Kittrell in Knoxville, Tenn.

The first question: Do you know what you're saving for? While the cost of brick-and-mortar colleges keeps rising, the emergence of online courses at low or even no cost undercuts the assumption on which the 529 was built. If Internet studies qualify for the 529 but are largely free, why lock away a small fortune now that can be applied penalty-free only to pay for traditional school? Such questions are beginning to filter through the financial-planning community, and some advisers are exercising caution. "It's hard to look 18 years into the future and speak about absolutes," explains David Mullins, a wealth adviser in Richlands, Va. "There are all kinds of college-funding options out there."

Doubts have dogged 529 plans for some time. Most Americans should be focused on their retirement accounts, says Mullins. After all, there are no grants, scholarships or loans aimed at helping you live well in your 80s. And stocks, which are where most 529s are invested, make a volatile choice for an account with a shortish horizon. Education Policy Center, a nonpartisan think tank, has concluded that a family investing $1,000 a year in a 529 plan for 18 years could have funded four years at a public university for a student entering college in 1997. The same regimen would not have covered even one year for a student starting in 2008.

The Potos' adviser prefers socking away college money through the Uniform Gifts to Minors Act (UGMA), which brings a tax deduction on the first $1,000 and a reduced tax rate on the next $1,000. This money can put a dent into financial-aid awards when kids reach 18 and the money becomes theirs. But like the Uniform Transfers to Minors Act (UTMA), it gives you more investment options and does not necessarily need to be spent on education.

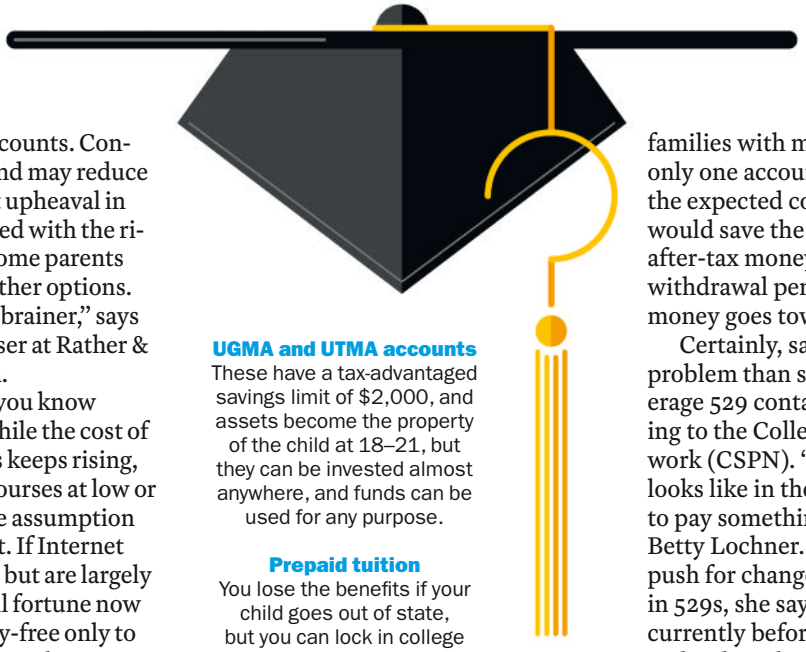
Brown, the Knoxville wealth adviser, likes 529 plans but only in small doses. He suggests that families with more than one child keep only one account and save only half the expected cost of college there. He would save the rest in a Roth IRA, where after-tax money grows tax-free. Early-withdrawal penalties are waived if the money goes toward education.

Certainly, saving nothing is a bigger problem than saving too much. The average 529 contains just $20,934, according to the College Savings Plans Network (CSPN). "No matter what college looks like in the future, people will have to pay something," says CSPN chair Betty Lochner. Her organization will push for changes in eligible expenses in 529s, she says. For example, a bill is currently before Congress that seeks to make clear that computers are a legitimate 529 expense.

Such reforms may not come fast enough. The student debt burden, now at $1.3 trillion, has become a potent rallying cry for Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders. President Obama has proposed that most students get two free years at a community college. Some states, like Tennessee, already offer that deal to residents. Others may follow.

In the meantime, young couples should look carefully at options before they set aside cash for college. A fully loaded 529 could be trapped money. ◻

Alternatives to a 529



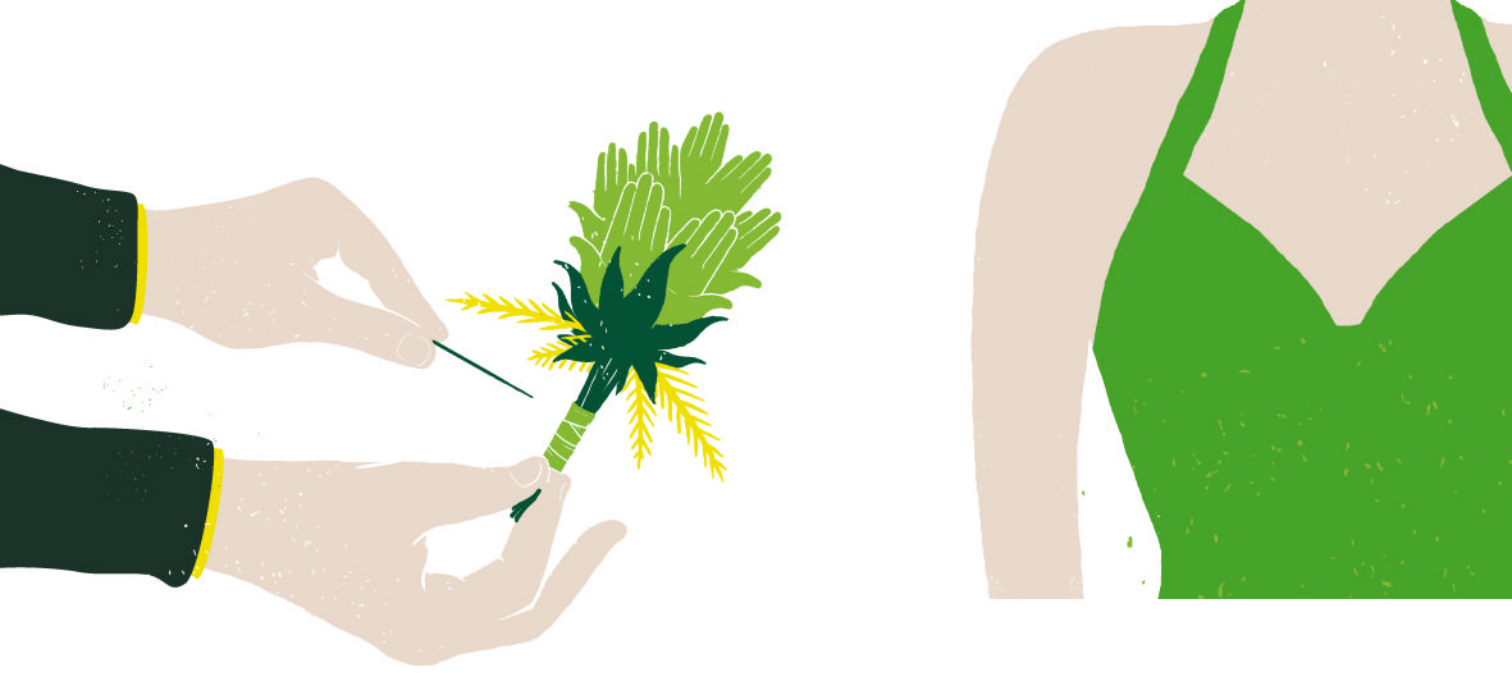
UGMA and UTMA accounts
These have a tax-advantaged savings limit of $2,000, and assets become the property of the child at 18–21, but they can be invested almost anywhere, and funds can be used for any purpose.

Prepaid tuition
You lose the benefits if your child goes out of state, but you can lock in college costs 18 years from now at today's price.

Roth IRA
Parents are allowed to make withdrawals from these accounts before age 59½ without a penalty if the money is used for school.

Coverdell account
It has a contribution limit of $2,000, but earnings grow tax-free and can be used not just for college but for private elementary or high school, academic tutoring and college-entrance test preparation.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME



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LightBox

Faith in motion

Muslims circled the Kaaba in the holy city of Mecca ahead of the annual hajj, which began Sept. 22. The faith obliges all believers who are able to make the trip to do so at least once in their lives. Three million are expected this year.

Photograph by Mohammed al-Shaikh—AFP/Getty Images

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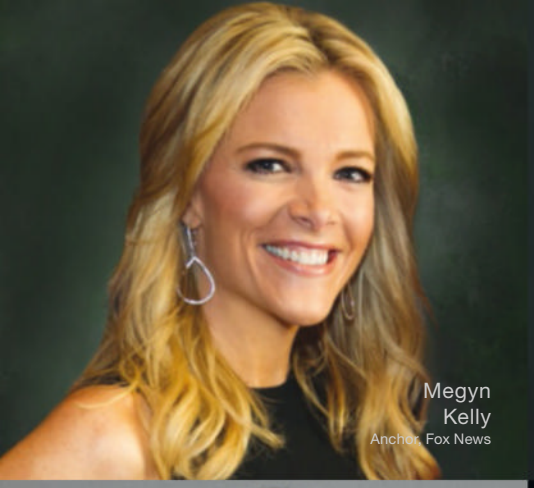

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The View

'THE STUDENTS WHO REFUSED TO READ ASSIGNED TEXTS WERE RIGHT ABOUT ONE THING.' —PAGE 30

The Valley fire in Northern California is one of many devastating wildfires to hit the U.S. this year

ENVIRONMENT

The fight to change how we fight fires

By Josh Sanburn

AMERICA IS BURNING. THIS YEAR alone, from Alaska to California, some 9 million acres have gone up in flames, destroying hundreds of homes and claiming at least 10 lives. All told, this wildfire season is on track to be one of the worst in U.S. history, thanks in part to climate change and drought.

But scientists, policymakers and even the U.S. Forest Service—which leads the nation's war on wildfires—increasingly acknowledge another, more controversial cause: the fire-fighting efforts themselves. Specifically, they say that long-standing demand for workers to snuff out all wildfires, even relatively small ones, has made America's forests more flammable and fueled blazes like those ripping through Northern California.

To understand why, it helps to know a bit about how nature protects itself from incineration. As branches and brush accumulate on the forest floor, they're periodically burned off in natural fires often sparked by lightning. Unlike megablazes, these surface flames clear debris but typically don't consume trees, which limits the fires' size and spread. By snuffing out smaller-scale fires, we're helping turn forests into tinderboxes.

Zero tolerance originated in the 1900s, when Congress established the USFS to protect the nation's timber and water supply. Back then, the agency's leaders worked to eliminate fire altogether. They were driven largely by congressional mandates and outcries from the general public, much of which was terrified by the prospect of another Big Blowup, the 1910 wildfire

PHOTOGRAPH BY STUART PALLEY

that scorched 3 million acres in Idaho, Montana and Washington, killing 85 people. One witness called it a "veritable red demon from hell."

Demands for USFS protection are even greater today, at a time when masses of people are moving to the wilderness. Some 44 million houses—the equivalent of 1 in 3 U.S. homes—now sit in what's known as the "wildland-urban interface," meaning they're at risk when blazes erupt. The USFS is obligated to protect lives and property, prompting one multimillion-dollar intervention after another. It's a situation "tantamount to what would happen if hospitals only had emergency rooms," says Tom Harbour, the USFS fire-management director.

But there are sparks of change. In 2009, the USFS shifted its policy to allow more surface fires to burn in remote forests, where there are no homes and few structures. This strategy reflects the lessons it learned from Yellowstone National Park, which successfully recovered from a 1988 blaze that was allowed to burn unabated (despite public concerns). In 2012, New Mexico's Gila National Forest served as another test site for allowing surface fires when it tempered a potentially massive blaze because there wasn't as much to burn. Those are the results the USFS wants more of, says Harbour, even if they mean more smaller-scale fires.

Beyond "let it burn" efforts, lawmakers have also introduced a bill that would enable the USFS to tap Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) funds to fight major wildfires. (Managing and suppressing wildfires consumes 52% of the USFS budget, up from 16% in 1995.) The goal is to free hundreds of millions of dollars for prevention efforts—such as clearing brush and thinning overgrown forests near people's homes—to add even more safeguards against megablazes.

But Congress can do only so much. After all, our tinderbox climate is getting worse: fire seasons are now an average of 78 days longer than they were in 1970, and twice as many acres burn today as did three decades ago. And some critics question whether the USFS can really overhaul almost a century of misguided policy. Meanwhile, Americans continue to move to fire-prone areas—the number of wildland-urban-interface homes grew 30% from 1990 to 2010—without taking their own preventive measures, such as fireproofing their homes. Convincing them to see the bigger picture will take a broader cultural shift.

It's happened before. In the 1940s, the Advertising Council, driven by the scientific wisdom of the time, first used a cartoon bear named Smokey to coax generations of Americans to do more against the possibility of a megablaze. But today, his motto could use an update: "Only you can prevent forest fires—if you're willing to let some of them burn." ◻

VERBATIM

'I want young women to see themselves as candidates ... All you have to do is figure out what you're going to run for first, and then what you'll run for next, and then next, and then you're President of the United States.'

SENATOR CLAIRE MCCASKILL (D., Mo.) discussing the value of ambition at the *Real Simple*/TIME Women & Success event Sept. 17 in New York City

VERBATIM: GETTY IMAGES; SNAPSHOT: DWIGHT ESCHLIMAN. FROM INGREDIENTS: A VISUAL EXPLORATION OF 75 ADDITIVES & 25 FOOD PRODUCTS (REGAN ARTS, SEPTEMBER 2015)

THE NUTSHELL

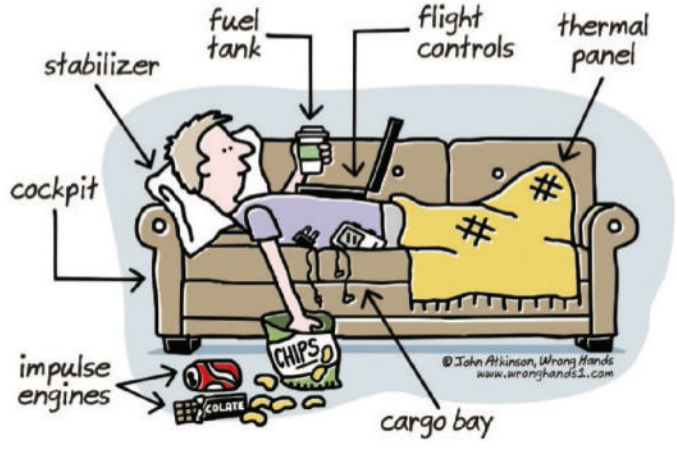
Resurrection Science

THANKS TO MODern science, there are more ways than ever before for humans to save wild animals from extinction. But in her new book, M.R. O'Connor argues that most of these methods—like zoos re-creating complex natural environments—are masking a larger issue: the need to save natural habitats. Tigers, for instance, have lost 93% of their territory in the past 100 years, mostly to deforestation. Caribou have lost half. And dozens more species, including the Hawaiian crow, have lost their entire habitats; now they exist solely in captivity. Recently the science of conservation expanded to include resurrection. In 2009, a group of Spanish researchers successfully gave life to a Pyrenean ibex, which went extinct in 2000. (The resurrected ibex, though, lived only a few minutes.) And there are efforts elsewhere to resurrect the woolly mammoth. But O'Connor remains bearish. "Until we make space for other species on Earth," she writes, "there won't be many places left for them to exist."

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Cyberspaceship



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

SNAPSHOT

What's in your snack?

The average processed food touts a laundry list of ingredients, most of which are hard to pronounce (disodium guanylate, anyone?), let alone envision. In an effort to educate consumers about these additives, writer Steve Ettlinger and photographer Dwight Eschliman teamed up on *Ingredients,* a new book that deconstructs popular munchies, including Doritos *(below),* McNuggets and Twinkies. —*Alexandra Sifferlin*

The components of Cool Ranch Doritos include milk (1), salt (2) and Blue No. 1 (3) for coloring

QUICK TAKE

The hidden cost of helping others

By Larissa MacFarquhar

THE TERM *DO-GOODER* IS OFTEN DEMEANing. It can mean someone who's annoyingly earnest or self-righteous or an intrusive meddler. But even when it's used to describe someone who does good deeds, there's still hostility in it. Why? Why do moral people make us uneasy?

One reason may be guilt, or irritation: nobody likes to be reminded of his own selfishness or be told, even implicitly, what to do. But that's not the whole story.

Ambivalence toward do-gooders also arises out of a deep uncertainty about how we ought to live. To most people, it's obvious that we owe far more to family than to strangers. But do-gooders challenge that idea. If everyone's family is loved by someone, they reason, why shouldn't we help other families as we would help our own?

This raises myriad moral dilemmas, especially in extreme cases. One couple I interviewed adopted 20 children who needed a home, but they struggled when weighing the needs of still-unknown kids against the needs of the kids they already had. Another couple founded a leprosy colony in rural India. Their dogs were eaten by panthers; their two toddlers survived. But what if they hadn't?

Everyone agrees that it's good to help strangers sometimes. But when helping entails sacrifice not only from you but also from your family, figuring out the right thing to do gets much more complicated.

MacFarquhar is the author of Strangers Drowning: Grappling with Impossible Idealism, Drastic Choices, and the Overpowering Urge to Help

HOW TO

GET BETTER HEALTH CARE

Navigating the U.S. health care system can be a confusing and sometimes disheartening process. But it doesn't have to be that way, argues Leslie D. Michelson, whose new book, *The Patient's Playbook,* offers tips on how to maximize the benefits of medical care. A sampling:

1

BOND WITH YOUR DOCTOR

It can be tough to make small talk during short visits. But people who have strong relationships with their primary-care physicians tend to be more open about important health details and likelier to get the preventive exams that are right for them.

2

GET SECOND OPINIONS

In the U.S. alone, diagnostic error contributes to the death or disability of at least 80,000 people a year. So it's important to consult with multiple medical experts before agreeing to surgery and other major treatments.

3

DON'T BE AFRAID TO TRAVEL

Community hospitals can offer great care. But for complex procedures, it's worth considering a major institution; if it accepts your health insurance, the cost will be roughly the same. —*A.S.*

The rise in restaurant automation is showcased by the San Francisco automat Eatsa

RETAIL

Order up! Why your fast food is about to come even faster

By Katy Steinmetz

ON A RECENT AFTERNOON IN SAN FRANCISCO, a long line trailed in front of what some patrons are calling the "robot restaurant." A sign outside Eatsa, which opened on Aug. 31, promised an eight-minute wait, despite a queue some 75 people long. "We're creating a new kind of fast-food experience," says co-founder Tim Young. "What we've designed creates a sense of mystery, a sense of intrigue."

There are no waitstaff or busboys at Eatsa. After customers punch in and pay for their orders on one of nine iPads—choosing from ingredients like lemon-herb toasted quinoa, orange miso sauce and parsnip strips—screens summon them to a nearby white wall of cubbies. A display flashes patrons' names (taken from their credit cards) and instructs them to "tap twice" to pick up their food. No humans can be seen working behind the scenes or when the cubby opens to reveal one's meatless meal. Many customers record each step of the process on their phones, relaying their experience to friends and followers on Facebook or Instagram.

Eatsa, with its sci-fi aesthetic, is definitely intriguing, but the concept is not exactly new. What Young and his founding team have built is a cashless 21st century version of the Horn & Hardart automat, early 20th century cafeterias where people could survey dishes placed in windowed compartments and pop in a nickel to serve themselves a helping of hot pie or macaroni and cheese. At one time, the famed chain blanketed Manhattan as part of what was the largest restaurant chain in the world, though the last automat closed in 1991.

Its reincarnation in San Francisco turns out to be part of a wider revival in the restaurant industry's embrace of gadgetry in a quest to get food to the customer more efficiently. McDonald's, for example, is testing Create Your Taste ordering kiosks that do the work of cashiers. And apps like Caviar—now operative in 16 U.S. markets from Atlanta to Minneapolis—take digital orders and payment and then dispatch workers to restaurants that don't typically deliver, where they pick up grub before delivering it to users' doorsteps.

McDonald's and Eatsa give similar justifications for removing face-to-face interaction from the equation: to provide the customer with more control over the process and lessen dependence on error-prone humans. Of course, there are still some humans involved. Behind Eatsa's white wall, the mystery of food that appears as if from nowhere turns out to be hidden workers, half a dozen of whom assemble quinoa concoctions during the lunch rush—though they too are being directed by software. "Every person that has a role has an iPad that manages their job," Young says. This, he explains, is what allows the workers to keep up with a breakneck pace of orders.

Businesses have another reason to go peopleless: the bottom line. Software is getting smarter, and machines are getting more dexterous, as wages for low-skilled workers in the U.S. are rising to $15 an hour and higher. Arguing against a recent landmark wage increase for fast-food workers in New York, advocacy group Employment Policies Institute took out an ad in the New York *Post* with a picture of a customer using a kiosk at McDonald's. The text read: MEET THE NEW MINIMUM-WAGE EMPLOYEE. Self-service and automation may one day be part of almost every eatery.

Though some will be drawn to kiosks to avoid human contact, a social element was plainly in evidence in the line of curious customers outside Eatsa. "It's not that I'm against humans' serving food, and it's not that I'm against machines' serving food," says Deepali Agarwal, who works for social-network company Skout. "It's a new concept, and being in tech, I'm just interested in how it works." Agarwal and her colleague Nikki Castellanos say with shrugs of resignation that automation is where society is headed. But Castellanos also points out that they came together. "Pretty much everyone here is with someone else," she notes. However it's delivered, a meal remains something to share. ◻

PAYMENT
Using near field communication, which allows two devices that are close to exchange bits of information, customers with smartphones that support Apple Pay or Android Pay can settle up with a tap at eateries like Jamba Juice and Panera Bread.

ORDERING
Big chains like Applebee's are bringing tech to the table by setting up tablets to handle orders and payments for customers.

PREP
This year, Moley Robotics showed a "robotic kitchen" prototype complete with robotic hands that "replay" the exact movements of a master chef. The firm plans to launch a consumer version in 2017.

JASON HENRY—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX (3)

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VIEWPOINT

American students—and politicians—need to stop waging war on reason

By Kareem Abdul-Jabbar

WHEN I STARTED PLAYING BASKETBALL AS A FRESHMAN AT UCLA, coach John Wooden told us a bunch of crazy ideas about useless drills we should do and half-baked plays we should run. Naturally, because I had just graduated from high school, I immediately knew that his unfamiliar methods were silly—possibly even unpatriotic—so I refused to follow the ridiculous directives. I suggested we start every practice by sitting in a circle discussing our favorite jazz musicians, leading to a group hug and affirmations that we were special to the universe. Coach Wooden later thanked me, tears in his eyes, for making him a better coach—and a better human being. The rest is basketball history.

Yeah, right.

If I had actually refused to follow the coach's plan, the next day I'd have been stocking the high shelves at the pet store asking, "Are you sure five pounds of kitty litter is enough, ma'am? Don't forget our lovely assortment of chew toys." And rightfully so, because, despite having been one of the top high school basketball players in the country, what did I know about playing on the next level? Or, for that matter, the next level of history, math and English? I had to rely on experts.

> Teachers are free to explain facts, like how the intestinal tract works, but not to offer ideas that might be unpopular, provocative or disturbing

Yet there seems to be a growing belief among college students, and some fearful parents, that being exposed to anything that challenges the comfort zone of beliefs might infringe on their rights. Teachers are free to explain facts, like how the intestinal tract works, but not to offer ideas that might be unpopular, provocative or disturbing.

Recently, a freshman at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill wrote an article criticizing a Literature of 9/11 course for requiring reading that "sympathizes with terrorists." The student hadn't taken the class nor read the actual works but relied on his personal research to form his conclusions. At Duke University, some students objected to the school's Common Experience Summer Reading Program selection, Alison Bechdel's powerful and moving graphic novel *Fun Home,* a musical adaptation of which is currently a hit on Broadway. They said they found it pornographic and contrary to their moral beliefs because of its portrayal of homosexuality.

If these were isolated cases, we could just shake our heads sagely at youth's age-old insistence on their Entitlement to Ignorance and pull out one of my favorite quotes (often attributed to Mark Twain): "When I was a boy of 17, my father was so ignorant I could hardly stand to have the old man around. But when I got to be 21, I was astonished at how much he had learned in four years." But these students' public attacks on required reading aren't merely a hold-their-breath tantrum while they refuse to eat their vegetables; they are a reflection of a larger hostility in American society against education—and against educated experts.

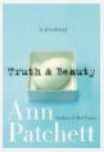
That may seem like an odd statement about a country that in 2015 has a federal budget of nearly $70 billion for education. Clearly we are serious when it comes to educating our young, but how we do so and what we teach them are problems.

For many Americans, education is about feeding students certain factual information, then testing them to make sure they retain it. The higher they climb on the educational ladder, the more specialized that information becomes as we train them for their eventual professions. That makes sense. When you've got surgeons hovering over you, ready to mess with your internal organs, you want them to remember where everything goes when they're done, not thumb through Wikipedia on an iPhone.

The attack on education isn't on training our youth for whatever careers they choose; it's on teaching them to think logically in order to form opinions based on facts rather than on familial and social influences. This part of one's education is about finding out who you are. It's about becoming a happier person. It's about being a responsible citizen. If you end up with all the same opinions you had before, then at least you can be confident that they are good ones because you've fairly examined all the options, not because you were too lazy or scared to question them. But you—all of us—need the process. Otherwise, you're basically a zombie who wants to eat brains because you don't want anyone else to think either.

That means this is a war on reason. And the generals leading the attack are

WHEN SCHOOLS AND CENSORSHIP COLLIDE



Clemson University vs. Ann Patchett
A handful of students and alumni called for the author's 2006 talk to be canceled because the friendship she depicts in her memoir *Truth and Beauty,* between Patchett and Lucy Grealy, is "not normal."

Jefferson County, Colorado vs. U.S. History
Last year the school board proposed to review the newly revised AP U.S. History curriculum to ensure it "[promoted] patriotism" and did not "condone civil disorder."

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mostly conservative politicians and pundits who have characterized our greatest thinkers as "elitists" who look down on everyone else. Überconservative William F. Buckley once said that he'd rather entrust the government to the first 2,000 people in the Boston phone book than to the faculty of Harvard University. (He graduated from Yale.) That's a great sound bite that many would applaud as the triumph of street-level common sense over the egghead experts who are often viewed as impractical and removed, as if they didn't share experiences in love and grief and raising children and paying mortgages. Were he alive today, would Buckley say that after reading a 2014 poll by Alex Theodoridis of the University of California, Merced, in which 54% of Republicans polled think President Obama is a Muslim "deep down" (10% of Democrats and 25% of Independents agreed)? Yet Obama has always been publicly affiliated with Christianity, and there is not one fact to suggest he's a Muslim. Or what about the recent Iowa poll in which 57% of Republicans said they would trust the top candidate to "figure it out" once in office.

Since when did we stop requiring our political leaders to educate themselves on issues before deciding the best course? Instead, we demand they hold a course regardless of facts. If you want to see how little regard politicians from both parties running for President have for facts, go to FactCheck .org and read statements made by all politicians. We should insist that politicians demonstrate their ability to reason through specific policies.

> The joy of college is arguing with others who are equally passionate and informed but disagree

Embracing reason is an uphill battle for humans. Almost 400 years ago, philosopher Francis Bacon wrote, "The human understanding when it has once adopted an opinion … draws all things else to support and agree with it. And though there be a greater number and weight of instances to be found on the other side, yet these it either neglects and despises …" Recent studies explain why nothing much has changed since then. During the 2004 presidential campaign, Emory University psychologist Drew Westen and his colleagues did brain scans on 15 Bush supporters and 15 Kerry supporters. What they discovered was that when the subjects rejected evidence contrary to their beliefs, their brains lit up like addicts when they get a fix. Westen said, "Essentially, it appears as if partisans twirl the cognitive kaleidoscope until they get the conclusions they want, and then they get massively reinforced for it."

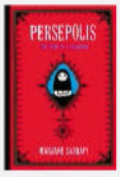
We seem hardwired to discard information that contradicts our beliefs. We have the Internet, the single most powerful information source and educational tool ever invented, but many of us use it only to confirm conclusions we didn't arrive at through examining evidence. We go only to sites that agree with our position in order to arm ourselves with snippets that we can use as ammunition against those who disagree with us.

The students who refused to read assigned texts were right about one thing: we should always question authority and experts. We know how often experts have been wrong in the past. (Remember ads with doctors touting the health benefits of smoking?) But colleges and universities provide the perfect learning environment for challenging beliefs. Part of what they teach is the proper way to challenge something: First, read the book. Second, present arguments contrary to the reading. Third, provide support for those arguments in the form of authority, facts and statistics. The students not reading the works aren't really students; they prefer emotional rhetoric to reasoned argumentation. A UNC student who identified himself as a conservative "through and through" posted this comment to the original piece that attacked the Literature of 9/11 course: "[Through] most of the semester and even in my final paper I actively disagreed with some of Neel's [the professor's] opinions. He in turn welcomed my arguments. As such, this course was amazingly valuable because it challenged my opinions and allowed me to explore what I thought I knew in a deeper way. Which is exactly what education should do."

Reading is about context, which a teacher can provide. Not just the work itself but the social climate that inspired its creation, the subtle but complex ideas that a novice might overlook and the effect on people at the time and yet to come.

When I think of some of the beliefs I had when I was 19 and how different they are now that I have had more experience and education (both formal and self-induced), I'm astounded by how rigid I was. The joy of college is arguing with others who are equally passionate and informed but disagree. It develops empathy for others and humility in yourself because you now will look upon your opponents not as evil idiots but as good people who want the same thing as you: a safe, loving, moral community. If you don't want to read the books and develop the skills, don't take the class. Don't attend the college. Spend the rest of your life huddled among those who agree with you. But know that that is not thinking—it's sleeping. Perhaps the Beatles said it best: "Please, don't wake me, no, don't shake me. Leave me where I am, I'm only sleeping."

Abdul-Jabbar is a six-time NBA champion and league Most Valuable Player



Crafton Hills College vs. graphic novels
In June, several students protested over having to read graphic novels, like *Persepolis* by Marjane Satrapi, for an English class; "I expected Batman and Robin," said one.

Duke and UNC vs. Alison Bechdel
Students recently refused to read *Fun Home,* which was recommended, claiming it would violate their values because the material is "pornographic."

IN THE ARENA

With vision and patience, Marco Rubio earns his place in the Republican top tier

By Joe Klein

AT THE SECOND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE, Donald Trump and Jeb Bush were in the midst of a testy wrangle over whether it's appropriate for presidential candidates to speak Spanish in public. "I want to tell you a story about someone who didn't speak English that well," Senator Marco Rubio interrupted, slicing to the argument's core. "It was my grandfather." He went on to explain that his grandfather was a Cuban exile who taught him to love America. "But he taught me that in Spanish," Rubio explained, "and he became a conservative, even though he got his news in Spanish."

Case closed. And enter Marco Rubio, stage right, into the top tier of Republican candidates. Most of the praise after the debate went to the clever, succinct Carly Fiorina and her successful put-down of Trump's assessment of her face. But Fiorina's performance had gaping holes in it—specifically, her riveting, untruthful description of an abortion video that did not exist. Her skirmish with Donald Trump over who had the better business record was the functional equivalent of Greece and Syria arguing about who had the stronger economy. Both are snake-oil marketers, not managers. Meanwhile, Rubio has had two excellent debates now. He tells stories, which is good. He is selling youth—he is 44, but looks younger—and optimism, which is better. The substance of some of his remarks, especially on national-security policy, is questionable, but he has emerged as a plausible President at a moment when most of his competitors are demonstrating their implausibility.

WE HAVE REACHED a new stage of the Republican nominating process. The field is beginning to sort itself out; the sudden departure of Scott Walker was symbolic of a sea change happening within. Trump has become—dare I say it?—boring. Dr. Ben Carson's weirdness is showing. The tortoises are consolidating their positions—Ted Cruz on the right, Bush and Ohio Governor John Kasich in the middle. And then there is Marco Rubio, who stands to the right of the moderates but manages to convey his conservatism without vitriol, and has emerged as the most polished orator of the bunch.

After the debate, I spent a day on the trail with Rubio in Georgia and North Carolina. The crowds were not Trumpian in size or in any other sense—much of the audience wore business attire; there were few tattoos or heavy-metal T-shirts; there were significant numbers of young people and Latinos. His stump speech was sleek and bright: the sky was not falling. He talked more about the future than about the past. After telling his up-from-Cuba life story, he focused on three specific policy areas—the economy, higher education and national security. He talked about the emerging economy, rather than the manufacturing jobs lost: "It took the telephone 75 years to reach 100 million users. It took *Candy Crush* one," he said, referring to the popular video game. He talked about Airbnb, Uber, Amazon—companies that embody the lightning pace of change. His plans to encourage that sort of entrepreneurialism were standard-issue Republican: lower taxes, fewer regulations. But his vision was more compelling than the other GOP economic pitches I've heard this year. It flowed naturally into the higher-education section of the speech, which was truly creative, with its emphasis on vocational-skills training and specific ideas for reforming the student-loan mess. Rubio would no doubt be horrified to learn that the only other candidate I've heard as passionate about technical-skills training is Hillary Clinton.

RUBIO HAS DISTINGUISHED himself in the debates by sounding knowledgeable about national-security issues—but his views are, again, standard conservative fare and sometimes dead wrong: the Iranians, for example, will not be able to process plutonium under the terms of the nuclear deal. Obama, he says, "treats the Prime Minister of Israel with less respect than he does the Ayatullah of Iran," a line that might please neoconservative billionaire Sheldon Adelson, but bears no trace of reality to the unprecedented level of support the U.S. has given Israel during Obama's presidency. Rubio didn't take questions—not even from his audiences—but I'd love to ask him how much time he's spent with the Israeli military and intelligence community, which holds very different views about Israel's security than Benjamin Netanyahu does.

There is a distinct feeling among Republicans that if they can create a ticket with candidates from Florida and Ohio, they can win the election. But neither Bush nor Kasich is setting hearts aflutter yet. It remains to be seen if Rubio will become a bonfire or a campfire, but he is beginning to throw some heat. ☐

THE MIAMI HEAT

'You should ask [Trump] questions in detail about the foreign policy issues our President will confront, because you had better be ready to lead our country on the first day.'

MARCO RUBIO, during the Sept. 16 GOP debate

AP

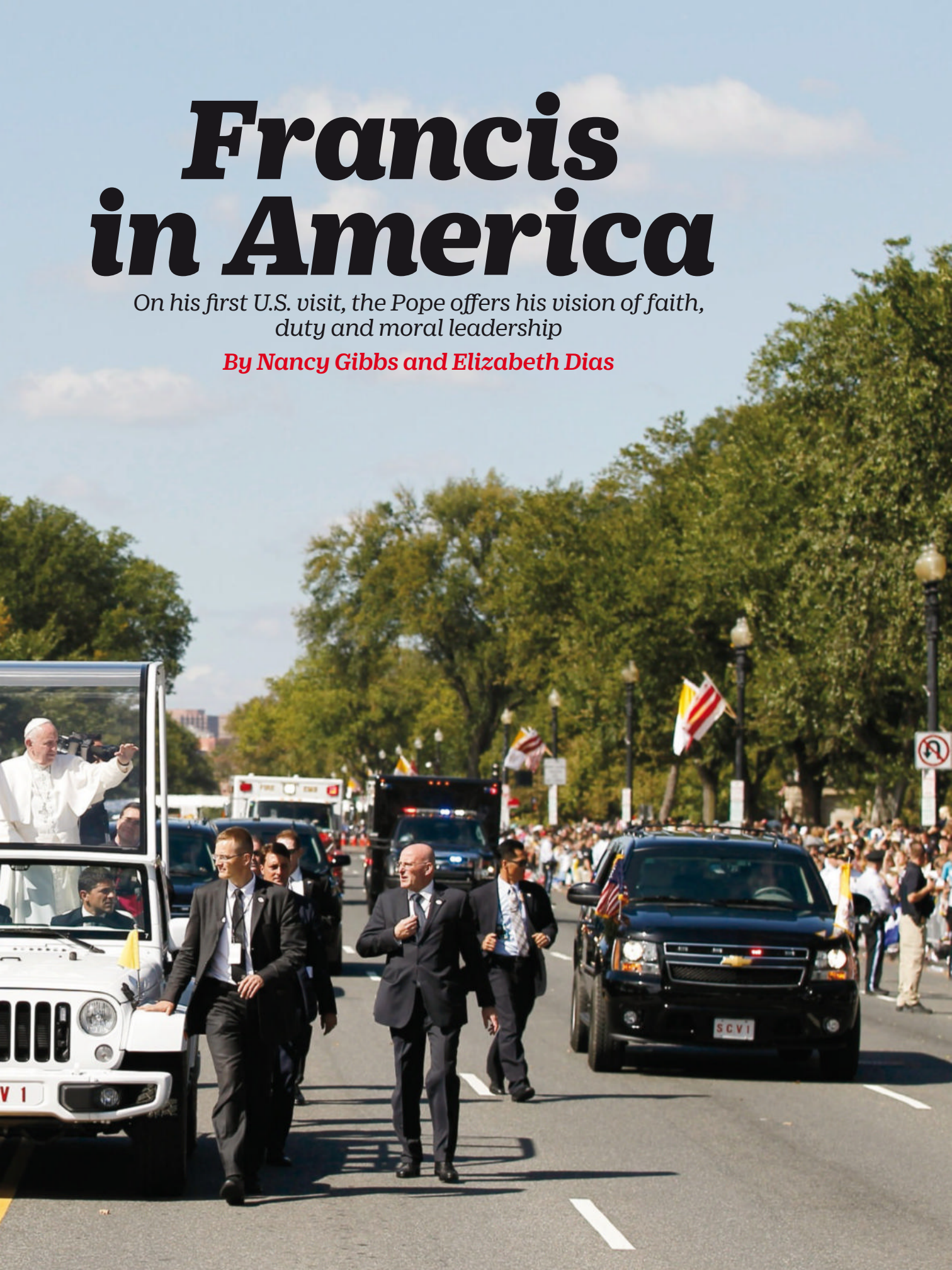
The papal parade down Washington's Constitution Avenue attracted crowds eager to share in a historic moment

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEX BRANDON—AP/POOL

Francis in America

On his first U.S. visit, the Pope offers his vision of faith, duty and moral leadership

By Nancy Gibbs and Elizabeth Dias



YOU COULD CALL AMERICA the love child of faith and power. Never happily married, church and state for centuries flexed their muscles, fought their wars, until the Founding Fathers made peace: the Creator endowed inalienable rights; the Constitution would guard them. And America grew rich and mighty, welcoming people of all faiths, favoring none and hosting a 240-year workshop on the role of God in public life.

That genealogy felt especially relevant during Pope Francis' first visit to the U.S. Having called out the world's superpower more than once for the sins of hubris and materialism, Francis presented himself as pastor more than righteous prophet. He got so busy taking selfies with schoolchildren on his first morning in Washington that he was 15 minutes late to the White House. There, the easy smile that lit his broad features among the children dissolved into a look of distant contemplation—as if to say that the Almighty does not make political endorsements. When the Pope closed his remarks with the words "God bless America," it was a prayer, not a boast.

He came as a shepherd and was everywhere tending his flock, with the human touch that has enthralled even skeptics with little use for the larger church. He knows the art of an image: he tooled around town in a small black Fiat, dwarfed among the ominous SUVs of the President's motorcade. But the Pope is not Mother Teresa. He is tough, still sturdy at 78, intensely focused on making the most of his allotted time. He is also a shrewd operator; his early shuffling of the cutthroat ranks of the Curia is proof enough of that. He has kept the old guard of the Vatican guessing and off balance while quietly installing a vanguard of his own.

So it was especially timely that he should have landed on these shores just as America was working through a few of its regular eruptions of confusion and conflict on the borderlands of faith and politics. There is Kim Davis in Kentucky refusing to issue marriage certificates to same-sex couples; here is Ben Carson rejecting the idea of a Muslim President; John Boehner is trying to forestall a government shutdown over funding of Planned Parenthood.

Mahatma Gandhi said those who believe that religion and politics aren't connected don't understand either. They've forever been connected in this country; in that sense, the Pope was right at home as he balanced his spiritually driven, politically explosive agenda about the poor and climate change alongside the leaders of the country and the world. It was a bracing demonstration of the strengths and limits of moral leadership in the modern age.

We've seen elements of this pageant before: Paul VI was the first Pope to visit the U.S., back in 1965, when Vatican II had just begun to open the church to the

"The People's Pope" paid special attention to children on his visit, embracing them during his parade and posing for selfies

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES LAWLER DUGGAN—REUTERS

At a meeting of U.S. bishops, Francis spoke out on issues from environmental degradation to immigration: "At stake in all of this is the gift of God"

PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN NEWTON—GETTY IMAGES/POOL

The Pontiff and the President on U.S. soil. They first met at the Vatican in 2014; Obama called himself a "great admirer"

outside world. He and Lyndon Johnson parleyed in a New York hotel room since at the time the U.S. did not have formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican. John Paul II made seven U.S. visits during his 27-year tenure and, either in the U.S. or Rome, met with every President from Jimmy Carter to George W. Bush.

But none of that occurred in the age of Instagram, when every one of the millions who came out to see him could share the experience with millions more. The papacy becomes ever more personal, the Pope's message more intimate, a transformation Francis is driving and riding and clinging to for dear life all at the same time. He's the first Pope to do a Google Hangout and the first to amass over 20 million Twitter followers. The age of authority is giving way to the age of persuasion, which is why his first official declaration was a call to a new era of evangelization. The former nightclub bouncer and slum priest treats every encounter, whether with saint or sinner, as an invitation to mercy. You're gay? You're divorced? You had an abortion? Come home. "The heart of the Pope expands to include everyone," he said in his homily at St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington.

Trained in chemistry but skilled at metaphysics, Francis made sure as the trip was being planned that for every action, there would be an equal and opposite reaction. He would come to America to see the world, meet the President, preach to Congress, address the U.N. General Assembly. But he would also visit the homeless at the capital's Catholic Charities, commune with immigrant schoolchildren in Harlem and minister to inmates at Philadelphia's largest jail.

Nor was it an accident that the trip began in Cuba, 90 miles and many worlds away from the rich, free, raucous and rowdy mainland where people were happily paying scalpers hundreds to hear his exhortation to lift up the least among us. Seeing America through Francis' eyes is a mysterious and magical experience for much of the nation, especially for Catholics. The U.S. church is shifting demographically, politically and spiritually, and no one knows that better than a Pope who is hard at work transforming his church in all those same ways. Francis is reorienting the Vatican to the geographic and geostrategic margins, elevating bishops from Cape Verde, Thailand, Haiti and Tonga and including in his early sojourns trips to Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. American Catholicism, meanwhile, is tipping from a dominion of European immigrants and their descendants—Irish, Italian, Polish, French—to one with a pronounced Latin American plurality. But even as it gains new immigrants it is losing adherents: there are roughly 3 million fewer Catholic adults in the U.S. now than there were around the time of Benedict XVI's visit in 2008.

Evasive of labels and seeking to uphold church dogma without being dogmatic about it, Francis often

OBAMA: CHIP SOMODEVILLA—GETTY IMAGES; CASTRO: ALEX CASTRO—AP

Francis with Fidel Castro in Havana on Sept. 20. The Pope played a key role in bringing about new relations between the U.S. and Cuba

cites the power of the Holy Spirit when he talks about the importance of service to others. In this way he is especially attuned to America's current spiritual pulse. With more than six former Catholics in the U.S. for every new convert, according to the Pew Research Center, and a quarter of all married U.S. Catholics wed to a spouse of a different faith, Francis has good reason to say "welcome" in every language. His Argentine roots in the increasingly charismatic Latin American church and his personal inclination to the mystical make him attractive to the nearly 1 in 7 Americans who are religious without a particular affiliation. "He places a great deal of confidence in the presence of the Holy Spirit," Cardinal Donald Wuerl of Washington says. "The reason he can be so open and so candid is because he has opened himself to the Spirit and feels that Spirit moving within him."

In his St. Matthew's remarks, Francis took a moment to pastor to his fellow pastors, reminding the assembled bishops to be gentle shepherds of their diverse flocks and to resist the loneliness that can sometimes come with the job. To leaders of a church still reeling from a decade of scandal, he urged the priests to stay "close to the people," taking on the world as it is, broken and soiled, not as they might wish it to be. "It is important that the church in the United States also be a humble home, a family fire which attracts men and women through the attractive light and warmth of love… Only a Church which can gather around the family fire remains able to attract others."

Pope Francis is famous for going off script when that spirit moves him; but he is also a strategic player, laying the groundwork at each step for the next one. In October he will host hundreds of bishops from around the world for the second phase of a Vatican synod to discuss pressures on families, from war to migration to incarceration. In November he will make his first-ever visit to Africa, going to Kenya, Uganda and the Central African Republic. He will not forget the U.S.—a land, as he put it in a message to the American bishops, built by "the epic struggle of the pioneers and the homely wisdom and endurance of the settlers"—but the impressions he gathers here will only put the world's needs in sharper focus.

Teddy Roosevelt called the presidency a bully pulpit because he grasped the value of using arguments rather than armies to advance an agenda. At a time when so much of American leadership feels flabby and phony, when trust in institutions—Congress, the presidency, the media, the church, police and business—is near all-time lows, a visit by this attractive and enigmatic man reminds us of certain timeless truths. Humility is a powerful muscle; timing is a precious gift; and a genuine desire for progress is more winning, in the long run, than the cunning art of obstruction. ◻

Spectators on the South Lawn of the White House await Francis. This was the first papal visit to the U.S. since Benedict XVI's in 2008

PHOTOGRAPH BY TOBIAS HUTZLER FOR TIME

Ohio Governor John Kasich preaches optimism at a New Hampshire town hall on Aug. 19

PHOTOGRAPH BY BROOKS KRAFT

CAMPAIGN ★ 2016

JOHN KASICH ISN'T ANGRY

But that doesn't mean he can't be a GOP contender

By Zeke J. Miller/Hampton, N.H.

THE LATE ADDITION of a naval shipyard tour caught Ohio Governor John Kasich off guard in late September. His staff hoped he would use the stop to clean up a comment he made a week earlier, when he suggested he was unconcerned with the military-budget squeeze putting pressure on jobs in New Hampshire. But as he scanned the schedule in his Chevy Tahoe, he made clear a reversal was not in the cards. "They know this won't change my mind, who I am—right?" he asked an aide sitting in the back, who nodded wearily.

And so instead of talking up New England defense jobs, Kasich emerged from an aging Los Angeles–class nuclear-attack submarine at a base almost shuttered under budget cuts to praise, of all things, workplace insecurity. "I actually think that the concern about base closings … makes everybody more efficient, keeps everybody on their toes," he said.

Kasich didn't stop there. When a reporter asked about the Granite State's heroin crisis, he touted his own efforts to help addicts by expanding Medicaid under the Affordable Care Act in Ohio. "We've sort of been ahead of the pack—sometimes way ahead of the pack," he said of his embrace of Obamacare, the government program most hated by his own party.

It has been this way for weeks with Kasich, who calls the Republican Party "my vehicle, and not my master." He

has sent his aides to brief New Hampshire elected officials about why they should betray conservative orthodoxy and embrace more federal health spending. And a few days earlier, at a town hall at New England College, he could have been mistaken for a liberal, calling for people to take an interest in their neighbors' lives. "We need to start sticking our noses into other people's business and start rebuilding and restrengthening our communities," he said.

Though his roots are in the party's grassroots wing, Kasich has emerged as a candidate of the sensible center. While other Republicans are running against the government they hope to lead, the Ohio governor wraps himself in it. As rival candidates adjust their positions to pander to voters, Kasich finds faith in his record, matching the anger of his rivals with his own quirky brand of relentless optimism. Carly Fiorina may indict the "professional political class," and Ted Cruz may barnstorm on "defeating the Washington cartel." John Richard Kasich, 63, still brags: "I've been in the Establishment."

The early results are promising. On the back of a $5 million super-PAC ad buy, the last man to join the presidential race is now ahead of better-known candidates like Chris Christie, Rand Paul and Rick Santorum in New Hampshire. It's easy to see why the GOP's political elite is taking notice. Many in former Florida governor Jeb Bush's orbit believe Kasich's insider appeal and high approval rating in Ohio make him a greater long-term threat than Donald Trump or Carly Fiorina.

Which is just the message Kasich is trying to spread. He spends his time at town halls talking about his nearly five years as governor, his 18 years in Congress, his chairmanship of the House Budget Committee and his eight years working for one of the most reviled Wall Street banks, Lehman Brothers. He won't sign antitax pledges and acknowledges the Iran nuclear deal can't simply be abrogated on his first day in office. While others send Instagrams from commercial flights, he proudly flies private and boasts of his golf games with Speaker of the House John Boehner, another Buckeye.

"I acknowledge their problems," Kasich says of aggravated voters who are clamoring for an outsider, "but I think they want someone who knows how to

Kasich, hoping to win over caucusgoers at the Iowa state fair in August, test-drives a tractor

land the plane at the end of the day. And I've landed a lot of planes, and the passengers in back are usually pretty happy."

ONE OF THE more interesting descants in the 2016 Republican opera turns on disposition. Can the party that still regards the sunny Ronald Reagan as its idol mount and win a campaign that isn't marked by Reaganesque optimism? Kasich leaves no doubt about where he falls. In early September, he caught a reporter's question, asking if he was "angry enough to win the Republican nomination"—a nod to the Trump phenomenon. Kasich was outraged, all right, but it was the question's premise that got his goat.

"I think you have to recognize people's challenges and problems, but my goodness, we live in America," he said. "We have a lot going for us."

Stewing over it hours later, Kasich promised voters at a town hall he wouldn't forget the question. "If it takes mean and angry, count me out," he said. "If it takes determination, if it takes a degree of toughness, count me in."

In a political environment in which President Obama's religion is questioned and his actions are compared to Neville Chamberlain's, Kasich has no time for pandering. "I just get a little tired of everybody running around moping about how terrible everything is," he tells TIME.

That's not to say Kasich is a particularly sunny guy. Inside the pragmatic shell is a firebrand who has always pushed the limits of what he can do. Allies and foes alike have long joked that his initials—JRK—are just a vowel away from capturing his personality. But aides to rival candidates say Kasich's temperament will be an issue with voters on the campaign trail.

For his part, Kasich says he learned long ago that his hard-charging ways can turn off voters. "Tone matters," Kasich says between spoonfuls of chocolate ice cream during an interview at a quaint Bedford, N.H., shop. His time as Ohio's governor has helped temper his methods. "I spent most of my life trying to knock down the walls of the city. Now I'm running the city, so I don't want to knock the walls down," Kasich says. "But it doesn't

KASICH FILE

BIRTHPLACE: McKees Rocks, Pa.
FAVORITE MODERN ROCK BAND: Linkin Park
FAVORITE ICE CREAM: "Regular chocolate"
FAVORITE AUTHOR: C.S. Lewis
YEARS IN ELECTED OFFICE: 26
FIRST TRIP TO THE WHITE HOUSE: In 1970, at the age of 18, after writing a letter to Richard Nixon calling him a "great president" and "greater person"

PREVIOUS PAGES: CORBIS; THIS PAGE: AL DRAGO—CQ ROLL CALL/AP

keep you from having the same desire and the same passion for change."

He grew up in the small Pittsburgh-area mining town of McKees Rocks, where his father delivered the mail. Politics was always on his horizon. "When I was a kid, I used to like to go up into the courthouse and listen to lawyers argue," Kasich told Republicans at a New Hampshire house party in late August. "Surprise! I became a politician, right?"

Kasich began making trouble in politics as a 26-year-old, the youngest elected member of the Ohio state senate. Four years later, he won election to Congress as a budget cutter, drawing the ire of his own party as he took on sacred cows in pursuit of a balanced budget. "There was no question he was very aggressive and at times didn't listen very well," recalls former House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

He always went his own way. As Republicans sought to stop "Hillarycare" in 1993, Kasich welcomed her to his home for a swordfish dinner to discuss ways to reform health care. (Talks didn't go much past dessert.) On the House Armed Services Committee, he targeted bloated programs like the B-2 bomber, starting a career-long icy relationship with then Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, and backed the creation of the Base Closure and Realignment Commission and a similar one for civilian properties. Aides like to say he was a Tea Party fiscal hawk before the Tea Party even existed.

In 1995, the year he balanced the budget for the first time and helped eliminate government entities like the Interstate Commerce Commission, TIME asked him to pose for a cover shoot with a chain saw slicing up the federal budget. Kasich demurred, concluding that it would look like a cheap stunt. (Twenty years later Rand Paul filmed the same stunt as a campaign ad.) Around the same time, he married his wife Karen, a former public relations executive, with whom he has two teenage daughters.

After making the short list to be Vice President with 1996 GOP nominee Bob Dole, Kasich set about launching a presidential bid of his own in 1999, only to be edged out by another Bush's well-funded campaign. Kasich says now the message he received from voters in New Hampshire was to "come back when you have some more experience."

WHY OHIO LIKES KASICH

The governor has benefited from an improving postrecession economy

5,424

Reduction in state-employee head count since Kasich took office in January 2011, a 9.3% drop

450,000

Number of Ohioans added to the state's Medicaid rolls in 2014 after Kasich expanded the program under the Affordable Care Act

4.7%

The unemployment rate in Ohio in August 2015, down from 9.2% when Kasich took office

$2 BILLION

Size of the state's rainy-day fund in July—an all-time record—up from 89¢ in 2011

As Ohio governor, he privatized the state's economic-development arm and pushed through over $5 billion in tax cuts. When Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker provoked a national firestorm taking aim at his state's public-sector unions, Kasich tried to one-up him by refusing to exempt police and fire unions. It went down in flames, dealing him a potentially existential blow as his poll numbers dropped to 36%. Tales of his short temper, snapping at rivals, reporters and even allies, leaked into the press.

The defeat led to a transformation in style if not in substance. Gingrich, who has spent time with his former colleague in recent months, notes he's "matured—he's much wiser about how he approaches people." He now polls at 61% in Ohio, the highest of any governor in the 2016 field in their own state.

KASICH SAYS THAT state-budget matters in Columbus delayed his entry into the race—but it is safe to say that he also wanted to see if Jeb Bush would capture the race by storm when he entered or, as it turned out, stumbled at the start. Now Kasich is focused heavily on New Hampshire, an approach that has worked before to mixed success. John McCain won the primary there twice, going on once to win the GOP nomination, and in 2012 former Utah governor Jon Huntsman camped there for months with a similar straight-talk message only to come in third in the primary. Those campaigns are instructive, as their architect, consultant John Weaver, has now become Kasich's top strategist. He is betting that Kasich can outshine the rest of the Establishment candidates with candor.

"I think voters are looking for someone who tells it straight," says Weaver, repeating his perennial line. "He has the same attributes and achievements as Bush, except that they're more current, plus he brings Ohio and a better ability to bring crossover voters, because he doesn't have the same last name or inherited baggage."

Winning in New Hampshire, however, will not hand Kasich the nomination. The path beyond is challenging, first to South Carolina, where social conservatives make up a large and famously volatile bloc of voters. This season, those voters are far angrier than the conservative revolutionaries of the early 1990s. The bunching of other Deep South states on March 1 doesn't favor Kasich either. And so Kasich has erected a firewall: he signed legislation into law moving the Ohio primary to March 15, which will allow the winner—and Kasich is far and away the favorite—to secure all of the state's 66 pledged delegates.

But Kasich will not win or lose based on mechanics. To succeed with the campaign he is playing, he will have to catch fire with voters. In early September, he thought he had come up with a way: play the Cincinnati-based indie band Walk the Moon's hit, "Shut Up and Dance," as his campaign theme. But his aides initially balked at the choice, opting for the far more anodyne "Beautiful Day" by U2.

A week later, the aides relented at a rally in Mackinac, Mich. The candidate was delighted. "I told them I wanted this music," he told the crowd. Then he made his aides play it again, so he could dance. Which he did. Tentatively at first, and only for a short time. But clearly happier. ◻

STEALTH FOOTAGE

Posing as a representative of a fetal-tissue-procurement company, David Daleiden wangled private meetings with Planned Parenthood officials. His secretly recorded videos spurred a new GOP push to defund the women's-health organization, one that could result in a government shutdown

HOW AN ANONYMOUS SPY WITH A VIDEO CAMERA INFILTRATED PLANNED PARENTHOOD AND REIGNITED THE ABORTION DEBATE

BY ALEX ALTMAN

MONICA MCLEMORE was at the bar of the Hyatt Regency Baltimore when the stranger sidled up. He introduced himself as a UCLA graduate student and complimented a remark that McLemore, a scientist and abortion nurse, had just made at a private gathering of the National Abortion Federation. The stranger offered to buy McLemore a glass of wine and spent a few minutes asking questions about methods of collecting tissue from aborted fetuses. He said he wanted it for his research on transgenic mice. The clean-cut young man struck McLemore as unusually knowledgeable, able to cite arcane studies in fusty scientific journals. "He was very nice, overly kind," McLemore recalls of the April encounter. "He really knew how to build empathy."

Three months later, McLemore learned that the stranger wasn't a graduate student. Other abortion providers knew him as Robert, the manager of a biomedical company that turned out not to exist. The young man's real name is David Daleiden. He is an antiabortion activist, and for 2½ years, he was an undercover agent in one of the most elaborate exploits in recent political history.

In an interview with TIME, Daleiden, 26, described his plot to sneak inside Planned Parenthood by posing as a fetal-tissue-procurement executive. He formed a front company called Biomax Procurement Services, with papers on file at the California secretary of state's office. He acquired fake IDs, launched an extensive website and proffered business cards adorned with the logo of a bubbling beaker. He slipped into exclusive conferences for abortion providers, hobnobbed with high-ranking officials and discussed medical procedures with doctors. He trained actors to play colleagues, drilling them with flash cards and vocabulary lists lest an errant phrase spoil the ruse. "I hate to say it, but you gotta respect the method," McLemore says. "It was full-on infiltration."

The intricate operation produced a series of undercover videos that put

Daleiden, above left, spent 2½ years masterminding the undercover operation against Planned Parenthood

'I can't think that there's ever been a moment like this

Planned Parenthood on the defensive and pushed abortion back into the political spotlight. Only two months after Daleiden began publishing his stealth footage of clinic visits and private meetings with executives, the tapes are on the verge of shutting down the U.S. government. A group of GOP lawmakers have vowed to oppose a spending bill Congress must pass by Sept. 30 if funding for Planned Parenthood isn't stripped from the federal budget. The Republican-controlled House has already passed a separate bill to defund the organization for one year, while Carly Fiorina's diatribe about the videos during the GOP presidential debate on Sept. 16 helped vault her toward the top of the field. "This is about the character of our nation," she said.

The sting focused on a murky corner of the medical world. Daleiden's clandestine footage revealed that the women's-health organization, which is one of the nation's largest providers of abortions, supplies aborted fetal tissue to medical researchers. Fetal-tissue study has been a part of medical research since the 1930s; last year the National Institutes of Health spent $76 million on such research to study treatments for diseases like Parkinson's. The recordings don't prove Daleiden's claim that Planned Parenthood profits from the sale of fetal body parts. But the sight of top officials appearing to debate the costs of organs over wine exposed a market many Americans found unsettling if not repugnant.

"I can't think that there's ever been a moment like this in the whole pro-life movement," says Charmaine Yoest, CEO of the influential antiabortion group Americans United for Life. "It's unique in the level of intensity, focus and interest." The controversy won't subside anytime soon. Daleiden has been rationing his cache of what he describes as about 300 hours of undercover footage, releasing videos on YouTube and his website at a rate of about one per week. He estimates he has enough material to last until the end of the year. "The fires," he tells TIME, "will still be burning weeks and months into the future."

The success of the ruse crystallized the no-rules nature of political combat in the social-media era. Antiabortion groups and like-minded politicians have spent millions of dollars over many years trying to take down Planned Parenthood, a pillar of the progressive movement and the recipient of more than $500 million in public funds each year. In the midst of this ancient and bitter culture war, the biggest blow in recent memory is being struck by an anonymous spy with a hidden camera.

THE PLOT against Planned Parenthood had modest beginnings. The center of the operation, dubbed the Human Capital Project, was the kitchen table of Daleiden's apartment in Orange County, California. The entire tab for 30 months of research, travel, equipment and salaries came to just $120,000, Daleiden says. (He won't identify the 15 to 20 donors who footed the bill.) It was more solo mission than vast right-wing conspiracy: Daleiden is both founder and mastermind of the Center for Medical Progress (CMP), the nonprofit organization that released the tapes. "David studied this stuff night and day, 24/7," says Troy Newman, president of the antiabortion group Operation Rescue and one of three CMP board members. "He lived this."

Born in Northern California, Daleiden is the child of what he calls a "crisis pregnancy," conceived during his parents' junior year of college. His preoccupation with abortion took root in junior high school. After debating it one day with a classmate, he went home and Googled images of fetal remains. "I thought this was the sort of grave injustice against a certain class of human beings that people will look back on 50 to 100 years from now and think, My gosh, why did we let this happen?" Daleiden says. "I wanted to be one of the people who shouted from the rooftops that this was wrong."

Daleiden joined his first antiabortion group in high school. By the time he arrived on the campus of Claremont McKenna, "he was already very much involved in the pro-life cause," says Kyle

Kinneberg, a college friend who once joined him on a mission to adjacent Pomona College to confront a Planned Parenthood staffer's presentation. Racing through college in three years, Daleiden wrote his senior thesis on fetal personhood in American jurisprudence. "He was quiet, composed, articulate and businesslike," recalls government professor Ralph Rossum, his thesis adviser.

Daleiden also started a campus chapter of the antiabortion group Live Action, which is known for surreptitious videos that claim to catch Planned Parenthood breaking the law. While still in college, he became the group's director of research. "The power of undercover video is it can speak to everyone," says Live Action founder Lila Rose, who has known Daleiden since high school. "It exposes the truth in a way that doesn't rely on media outlets to report it." But Live Action's recordings were often bogus. After a while, Daleiden recalls, he began looking for a long-term project that "wouldn't just be political street theater."

The seeds of the Human Capital scheme were planted in a 2010 phone conversation with Texas-based antiabortion

PREVIOUS PAGES: VIDEO STILLS: THE CENTER FOR MEDICAL PROGRESS; ABOVE: WIN MCNAMEE—GETTY IMAGES

in the whole pro-life movement.' CHARMAINE YOEST, CEO of Americans United for Life

Antiabortion protester Linda Heilman prays during a sit-in at a proposed Planned Parenthood clinic in Washington on Sept. 21

activist Mark Crutcher, who has been using guerrilla tactics against Planned Parenthood for years. (One of Crutcher's projects, known as Spies for Life, enlists activists to infiltrate abortion clinics and report back on their findings.) In 2000, Crutcher spearheaded an investigation that purported to show that Planned Parenthood trafficked in fetal body parts. The claim sparked media coverage and a congressional investigation but collapsed when a key witness admitted he had been paid for his testimony.

Daleiden was floored by the prospect of a fetal-tissue market. "I remember hanging up the phone, and I was crying," he says. "I had nightmares about it for a week." In 2013 he left Live Action to zero in on the issue. "He had the idea of becoming one of them—a spy, if you will," says Newman. "We had to start building relationships inside the abortion cartel."

The first coup was a simple screenshot. It captured the website of a biomedical company that, according to Daleiden, invited clients to choose from a menu of body parts and gestational ages. From there, he began networking with Planned Parenthood staff and affiliates, slowly climbing its organizational rungs as he pieced together information about a practice Daleiden says even top executives know little about.

As a mole, Daleiden had certain merits. He was an unknown face with a fluency in medical jargon and what he calls a "photographic memory." But his most valuable trait may have been his interest in his opponents. "It's really important to be able to understand other people's viewpoints," Daleiden says. "In order to do this kind of work, you have to be able to relate to the other side." Daleiden considers Deborah Nucatola, the Planned Parenthood senior medical director who is seen in one of the videos discussing fetal-tissue prices over red wine at an upscale bistro, to be a friend.

To Planned Parenthood, Daleiden is a partisan enemy. In a July 20 letter to members of Congress, the organization called him an "extremist" who used selective editing "to create the impression that Planned Parenthood sells tissue, profits from tissue donation for medical research, or violates other laws in this area—which is simply not true," attorney Roger Evans wrote. Vicki Saporta, CEO of the National Abortion Federation, told TIME the tapes have triggered the most virulent burst of antiabortion sentiment in 20 years, including death threats and three potential acts of arson at clinics. "They tried to entrap people into saying things," Saporta says, "and then selectively edit videos to inflame anti-choice sentiments."

By that standard, the caper was effective. Snippets suggest abortion providers may be willing to tailor surgeries to boost the chances of obtaining tissues, which would raise uncomfortable ethical questions. Another exchange appears to depict a Planned Parenthood executive debating the cost of fetal specimens. At one point in that conversation, which resembles a negotiation, the executive makes a joke about wanting a Lamborghini.

THE TAPES are also notable for what they do not show. Daleiden and his supporters say the project proves that Planned Parenthood profits from hawking baby parts, which would be a crime. "The express purpose," says Newman, was "bringing prosecution" against the organization. But Planned Parenthood executives repeatedly say in the videos that they don't profit from selling fetal organs and want only to cover the costs of providing them to medical researchers.

Lurid details ricocheting around the Internet were inaccurate or distorted, like Fiorina's grisly description of an image from the investigation. "Watch a fully formed fetus on the table," she said, "its heart beating, its legs kicking." Daleiden captured no such footage from the organization's clinics, though one video includes an interview with a former fetal-tissue technician who claims to have seen a similar event, which was edited together with footage of unknown origin collected by a separate antiabortion group. Confronted about the accuracy of her statement, Fiorina didn't backtrack.

In the midst of a political storm, fury can often matter more than the facts. An activist with an agenda can shape policies that affect millions; it was only five years ago that misleading sting videos taken by the conservative provocateur James O'Keefe destroyed ACORN, another nonprofit organization that became an obsession on the right. There are no signs that Planned Parenthood will meet the same fate; its support is holding steady, while its fundraising has gotten a boost from the ordeal. But the impact of the videos is undeniable for patients in the states that have since defunded Planned Parenthood or launched investigations.

The catalyst of the commotion was almost a forgotten figure. For Daleiden, who considers abortion a practice akin to slavery and calls himself an investigative journalist, the fallout from the footage has been gratifying. "It's part of the broader social-justice tradition," he says of the undercover videos. "It's a medium for illustrating the victim and the atrocity." ◻

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Time Off

'YOU SEE THESE FEMALE ROLES ... AND I FEEL AS IF A MALE WRITER WRITES THEM TO PROTECT A FEMININE IDEAL.' —PAGE 55

As an astronaut stranded on Mars, Damon channels the pluck that saved missions like Apollo 13

AIDAN MONAGHAN—20TH CENTURY FOX

MOVIES

The Martian celebrates the gutsy ambition that we've denied the real NASA

By Jeffrey Kluger

MARS DOESN'T WANT ANYTHING TO do with human visitors. Just think of all the ways it's dreamed up to kill us. If it's not the bitter cold, it's the lethal radiation; if not the radiation, it's the thin, poisonous atmosphere. You go, you die—unless you're very, very good.

That's part of the appeal of Mars in the first place—and part of almost all outrageous acts of exploration. Show us the second tallest mountain in the world and we want to climb it. Show us the tallest and we *need* to. Give a place a no-go name like Death Valley and, well, that's nothing but a dare.

Such cowboy brass, coupled with a raw frontier survival story, made Andy Weir's 2011 novel *The Martian* a best seller, and it's the same combination—plus a lot of 3-D fireworks—that informs director Ridley Scott's screen adaptation starring Matt Damon. Yes, *The Right Stuff* was a lot of fun, but all of the missions in that tale had the narrative misfortune of being successful. It's only when everything goes to hell—as it did in *Gravity,* or *Apollo 13* (which, full disclosure, was based on the 1995 book I co-authored with astronaut Jim Lovell)—that the audience puts real emotional skin in the game.

In *The Martian*, viewers get down to bone. The story turns on astronaut Mark Watney (Damon), who is lost in a windstorm, assumed dead and left behind when his crewmates have to get out of Dodge before the same tornado wallops them. But oops, Watney survives, and now must find a way to stay alive for more than 500 sols—or Martian days—before a crew can come back and save him.

You've seen this movie before: *Cast Away*, *Swept Away*, *Lord of the Flies* and (like it or not) *Blue Lagoon*. But the thing about being stranded on a desert island is that you can breathe the air, the temperature is warm, and the groceries literally grow on trees. Not so on Mars. If Watney is going to survive, he must, as he memorably puts it, "science the sh-t out of this."

And so he does, ginning up a way to manufacture water, building a greenhouse and growing potatoes—the last with more than a little help from the human fertilizer he and his five crewmates produced during their stay. But Watney manages more than growing crops on Mars (which, he eventually learns, officially means he colonized the planet). He also dreams up ways to re-establish his severed communications link with Earth—thanks to an ingenious guest appearance by a vintage NASA Mars probe—rebuild his habitat when a sudden disaster wrecks it and repurpose his rover for a treacherous journey across 3,400 kilometers of dead (and deadly) Martian terrain.

The movie does have holes—some stylistic, some scientific. Weir himself acknowledges that the Martian atmosphere, just 1% the density of Earth's, could never whip up the tornadic force that sets the movie in motion. (*Gravity*, too, was premised on an impossible accident.) What's more, the administrator of NASA (played by Jeff Daniels) would no more need to have the idea of a gravity assist maneuver explained to him than the chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission would need a primer on stock options. And judging by the rat-a-tat dialogue, screenwriter Drew Goddard spent one too many days in an Aaron Sorkin boot camp.

But Daniels makes the most of his role, as do *Saturday Night Live* alum Kristen Wiig, as NASA's public-affairs director; Chiwetel Ejiofor *(12 Years a Slave)* as its director of Mars missions; and Jessica Chastain *(Interstellar)* as the mission's commander.

At least as important as *The Martian*'s artistic merit is the moment in which it arrives. The story is set in a future that is said to be only 12 to 15 years away. But the NASA of the movie is unrecognizable—a 21st century version of the sprawling, generously funded, inventing-on-the-fly institution it was in the glory days of Apollo. The trans-Martian mother ship owes a bit too much to Stanley Kubrick in its elaborateness. But the landing vehicle and the rover and the high-tech Martian barracks are all things that could exist now—if we had made Mars a real priority.

John F. Kennedy ignited the space race when he declared in 1962, "We choose to go to the moon in this decade." Seven years later, we planted a flag there. The problem with Mars is that we didn't choose. In what might have been a deliberate barb, Weir gave his Mars missions names like Ares I, Ares II and so on, like the Apollos of old. Just 10 years ago, Ares I and Ares V were the real names of boosters Congress authorized NASA to build for a return to the moon and a later trip to Mars. But Washington blinked, the plans were scrapped, and little has taken their place.

The lure of Mars endures, but for today's NASA, it is too often merely name-dropped by policymakers, an eventual goal that remains just over the next 15- or 20-year horizon—which, like all horizons, recedes and recedes eternally. Today's America squints at where it wants to go, gripes about the length of the walk and the cost of the shoes, then slumps off to see a good Mars movie instead. *The Martian* is undeniably a thrilling one; making the journey for real would be a far grander thing. ◻

MISSIONS TO MARS
For more than a century we've been making movies about Mars

***A Trip to Mars* (1910)** Thomas Edison aped Georges Méliès' *A Trip to the Moon* with a display of crude special effects and wild-looking Martians

***Robinson Crusoe on Mars* (1964)** Space castaway Paul Mantee discovers that Martians look like us—and have enslaved an entire race for hard labor

***Total Recall* (1990)** One of the most complex imaginings of Mars finds the planet heavily colonized and its air supply monopolized by a corrupt governor

TIME PICKS

MOVIES
The human impact of the subprime-mortgage crisis comes to life in ***99 Homes*** (Sept. 25), with Andrew Garfield as an evicted young father who becomes an unwilling henchman for Michael Shannon's shady real estate broker.

MUSIC
On their sophomore album, *Caracal* (Sept. 25), British dance duo **Disclosure** feature the voices of heavyweights like Sam Smith and Lorde in a collection of songs that prioritize melody and song writing over beats per minute.

BOOKS
Eat Pray Love author Elizabeth Gilbert shares the secrets of her creative process in ***Big Magic*** (Sept. 22), a rumination on the nature of inspiration.

TELEVISION
The new ABC drama ***Quantico*** (Sept. 27), a change of scenery for Bollywood superstar Priyanka Chopra, follows a group of FBI recruits, one of whom will be suspected of plotting a terrorist attack. *—Eliza Berman*

99 HOMES: BROAD GREEN PICTURES; QUANTICO: ABC; MARS: ISRO; A TRIP TO MARS: YOUTUBE; ROBINSON CRUSOE ON MARS: EVERETT; TOTAL RECALL: PHOTOFEST

MOVIES

At the border, a star crosses Hollywood boundaries

BRITISH-BORN ACTRESS EMILY BLUNT, 32, HAS A request for male screenwriters. "Write me as a guy," she tells TIME, "and I'll do the girl stuff. Just write me as you would a guy: as complicated, as conflicted, as at-fault." It's something she's learned to ask for. "Often," she says, "you see these female roles written, and I feel as if a male writer writes them to protect a feminine ideal."

In *Sicario* (out now in limited release and Oct. 2 nationwide), Blunt's wish is granted. She plays Kate Macer, an FBI agent drawn into an investigation after stumbling into a drug cartel's grisly house of horrors during a raid. The case is far enough above Kate's pay grade that her ideas about right and wrong are irrelevant to the morally compromised men she's paired with, played by Josh Brolin and Benicio Del Toro. *Sicario*—the title is Spanish for "hit man"—has a lot to say about chaos at the border. Yet its most striking aspect may be Blunt, who brings girl stuff to the center of the law-enforcement drama, a space usually reserved for men.

Screenwriter Taylor Sheridan, who had no writing credits to his name before *Sicario*, was pressured by potential backers to change Kate's gender, but he held firm. Kate's ambivalence and, later, her horror show us how messy drug enforcement has become. "The fact that I'm a woman magnifies it for the audience," says Blunt. "If there'd been a guy playing my part … maybe we've seen that film before."

Viewers haven't seen this before, from the movies—where the closest comparison is Jodie Foster's steely Clarice Starling in *The Silence of the Lambs,* who's able to master the sort of ambiguities that trip Kate up—or from Blunt. The 32-year-old came to prominence in costume dramas like *The Young Victoria* ("I think I donned a bonnet several times," she says) and as Meryl Streep's mean-spirited assistant in *The Devil Wears Prada.* None of her roles has found her tending to a genius husband or playing the straight girl to a funny boyfriend. "If I'm just there to lay up the joke, I don't really have much interest in playing parts like that," she says. "I just don't think it's the reality of the world." Blunt's a rare actress who consistently plays the lead, not the love interest.

Which makes things complicated when it's an FBI story, where the reality is a man's world. Kate isn't a character who just happens to be a woman; her relationships with colleagues and her physical capabilities are cast into relief by her femininity. Indeed, though Kate is good at her job, working in moral gray areas affects her much more than it does her male colleagues. To research the role, Blunt spoke to four female FBI agents; one of them inspired her unshowy performance. "She was quite slight in size," Blunt says. "She reminded me of how I would look in this very brutal world."

Blunt proved her mettle as an action hero after her star turn in 2014's clever blockbuster *Edge of Tomorrow.* There, she averted the end of the world, splashily and with Tom Cruise playing *her* sidekick. The one-two punch of *Tomorrow* and *Sicario* (to be followed by the fairy-tale action sequel *The Huntsman* next year) suggests that Blunt may be a successor to the Angelina Jolie of 10 years ago: an actress who's willing to take on physically demanding roles and who's credible while toting a gun.

In *Edge of Tomorrow* Blunt played an indomitable fantasy figure. In *Sicario,* when Blunt gets hit by a male adversary, you feel the hurt. And when her values are discarded out of hand by male colleagues, there's no way for her to fight her way out. It's a role a lesser movie might have sanded down, either by making Kate "butch"—as Blunt says she resisted—or by granting her some gratifying wins along the way.

But the script gives Kate the guy stuff, which means forcing her through wrenching internal conflict and external trauma, while Blunt adds the girl stuff with an impressively shaded performance. Is she comfortable being labeled our next great action star? "It's a thrilling thing," she says, "and one that probably persuades me to lay down the gun for a little bit."

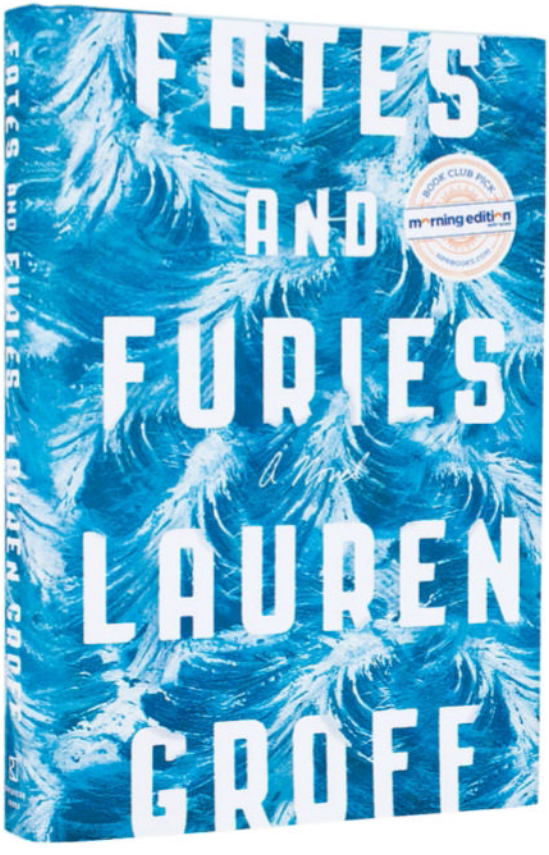
—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

HIT WOMAN Blunt underwent weapons training on the Albuquerque, N.M., set of *Sicario.* "There were certain scenes," she says, "that created sleepless nights after we shot them."

LIONSGATE

BOOKS

In this marriage, love may be time's fool



LAUREN GROFF'S NEW novel, *Fates and Furies,* should be read with both eagerness and caution. Sentence by sentence, this novel, like her others, is a thoroughbred. Measured by its narrative tricks, however, it is a Trojan horse. Groff's story of a marriage in which neither partner truly understands the other uses a sophisticated technique to tell its simple story, subverting our expectations with a two-voice counterpoint as meaningful as it is dazzling.

The novel depicts the 24-year marriage of Lotto and Mathilde. Lotto, blessed with looks and smarts, seems only to win at life (the exception being a dead father, but even he did the favor of leaving Lotto a flush trust). He wants to be an actor, to play Hamlet on Broadway, but the reader can sense he lacks the requisite self-doubt. His wife Mathilde seems endlessly supportive of his ambitions, a sounding board and helpmate as Lotto achieves renown as a playwright. Maybe that's the spryness of a young relationship: they wed at 22 after a brief courtship.

The next few years see Lotto and Mathilde's rise to prominence through the early part of this century—a rise that tops out about halfway into the book's 390 pages. Readers may suspect by this point that the novel's most innovative device will be a Greek chorus to comment in brackets on Lotto and Mathilde's lives: Lotto thanks the gods for his "glibness," and the voices tell us, "[Nothing to do with it]." But Groff, beginning a second perspective halfway through, has a more radical vision.

The first half, "Fates," is mostly about pleasant emotions and good fortune; "Furies" begins with a young Mathilde getting harassed by young men and beaming with pride. Until now, Groff has kept Mathilde almost boringly beige. Once we're allowed into her mind, once we understand the kind of trauma that might drive a person to neediness, or to rage and vengeance, the first half becomes far darker.

Yes, there's a certain narrative pleasure in seeing two views of one marriage click together. But the enjoyment can't help giving way to a certain sadness: that two people who share a life may ultimately be blind to each other. And willfully, at that.

> There is an underlying assurance that life isn't actually made up of big things, or knowable things

Lauren Groff

This isn't Groff's first look at time's passage, and the shock a new perspective introduces. Her previous novel, *Arcadia* (2012), seems like a story of hippie life at a 1970s commune, until it zooms into the future to prove that utopia may have its problems but dystopia is worse.

The revelations here are more personal, though. When one of Lotto's actors tells Mathilde that the troupe calls her "the Dragon Wife," it surprises her, and us. Mathilde has not quite understood the effect her spousal devotion has on everyone else. Her tight grip is informed by her past, about which Lotto knows blissfully little. But even her commitment to their marriage can't calm her inner turmoil.

A marriage is often the endpoint of a comedy. From *Pride and Prejudice* to *Sex and the City,* the "marriage plot" brings couples together after a series of obstacles to share a happily ever after. In *Fates and Furies,* though, the spectral gods know better—and, eventually, so do we.

That's the final twist of *Fates and Furies:* amid the pain, there's something abidingly lovely about this story, something beyond the virtuosic prose that makes a partner's unknowability bearable. Maybe it's that despite Mathilde and Lotto's wild divergences, there is an underlying assurance that life isn't actually made up of big things, or knowable things, or the past. Groff shows us how "silent intimacies"—like the delivery of a cup of coffee in the morning—can turn a tale of disaffection, in the end, into a love story.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

GROFF: LEONARDO CENDAMO—WRITER PICTURES

HISTORY

FDR's final year, and what could have been

THE YEAR WAS HALF OVER WHEN, WHILE ACcepting his nomination for a record fourth presidential term, FDR asked the question, "What is the job before us in 1944?" His answer—first, win the war—may seem obvious, but Jay Winik's new book, *1944: FDR and the Year That Changed History,* suggests he missed a step. There was a chance to slow the Nazi killing machine, Winik argues, by bombing the rail line to Auschwitz rather than leaving liberation for after the fight. But Roosevelt didn't, and therein lies the history-shifting rub.

Nimbly toggling between hemispheres, Winik knits familiar WW II headlines with surprising details from leaders' lives, though the highlighting of FDR-Hitler coincidences can have the jarring feel of a Kennedy-Lincoln conspiracy theory. His recounting of concentration-camp logistics is haunting, and the tales of those who tried desperately to stop the mass murder have cinematic force.

The story in Washington feels slower, which is fitting. In 1944, through D-Day and an election, the once energetic Roosevelt grew weaker. He wouldn't live to see the camps, the bodies, the truth he had known but perhaps never fully grasped. He had no time to regret forgoing his "Emancipation Proclamation moment" by allowing Auschwitz to stand one day longer than it had to.

Winik likes to write about specific time periods, as he also did in his 2001 best seller *April 1865.* The genre is built to ask whether this single year was truly singular. So did history change in 1944? Yes.

Winik's vision of an alternate universe—in which an earlier end to Auschwitz creates a world that prizes goodness—is hard to buy yet easy to crave. But opportunities to demonstrate humanity are frequent, and there's no reason history can't change the future. —LILY ROTHMAN

Winston Churchill and FDR in 1944

CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT: THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES; JEONG: JIM SPELLMAN—GETTY IMAGES

QUICK TALK

Ken Jeong

After years of playing raunchy and foulmouthed characters in the Hangover *films and on* Community, *the comedian draws from his previous life as a physician for his new ABC sitcom,* Dr. Ken, *which premieres Oct. 2.* —NOLAN FEENEY

Some of your best-known characters are pretty terrible people— Aww, thank you!

What's it like playing a family man? It's a nice departure from crazy. I get to draw directly on my own background as a father of two daughters and being married for 11 years. What I like about it is that I can still reference my comedic persona that I've cultivated over the past few years and channel that into a more grounded character.

Is this the first role you can actually watch with your kids? What's great is they come to some tapings of the show. My girls are 8 years old—they're fraternal twins—and to see them laugh at my character's son's jokes is pretty fulfilling.

You were a real-life doctor before you got into acting full-time. What do medical shows get wrong that bugs you the most? I honestly never watched a lot of medical shows, because the better they were, the more realistic they were. Twenty years ago, when *ER* first premiered, it was *so* good, but I had to stop watching, because it felt like I was watching work in medical school.

***Dr. Ken* is the rare medical show not set in a hospital. Is there humor to be found in our health care system?** I worked at an HMO for seven years and definitely have been trying to satirize the tropes of being in managed care. Bad doctors, which I honestly rarely see, sometimes can be less incentivized to work hard because they're just on salary. What if Dr. Ken realized that and takes an hour between each patient? He doesn't do it badly—he just socializes a lot more or watches Funny or Die videos.

ON MY RADAR

THE UPCOMING *X-FILES* REVIVAL

'My wife's a big fan. In anticipation, we started watching some specific classics, like the ones [Breaking Bad creator] Vince Gilligan wrote.'

RED HOT CHILI PEPPERS

'I'm an oldies guy. When we introduce the cast at the beginnings of live tapings, we play "Can't Stop." That's my good-luck song.'

On her third album, out now, Del Rey is still pop's most polarizing flower child

MUSIC

Lana Del Rey's cinematic *Honeymoon* isn't so sweet

FOLLOWING THE TIDE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON LANA Del Rey could give anybody whiplash. In 2011 she became a legitimate Internet sensation on the strength of her brooding piano ballad "Video Games." A few months later she was a lightning rod for debates about "authenticity" after listeners learned that the Lana Del Rey character was just the latest musical identity of singer-songwriter Elizabeth Grant. Critics slammed the "gangsta Nancy Sinatra" aesthetic of her 2012 major-label debut, *Born to Die,* but two years later the follow-up, *Ultraviolence*—a swirling storm of '60s psychedelia produced by the Black Keys' Dan Auerbach—appeared on many publications' best-of-2014 lists (including TIME's).

Her third LP, *Honeymoon,* swings back toward the film noir inspirations of her early material. These sparse, sulking ballads draw from her acclaimed work on the *Big Eyes* and *Great Gatsby* soundtracks, but the ambience is often stronger than the songwriting, and several tracks languish at the five-minute mark. The songs could take a lesson from Instagram—applying a nostalgic filter isn't always enough to make great art. Yet Del Rey is unapologetic here, doubling down on her obsession with old Hollywood, tortured relationships and glamorous depictions of vice. On *Ultraviolence* a few winks of self-awareness suggested that there was satire at play in her performance of misery, or that she was at least in on the joke. On *Honeymoon*'s most trolling moments—she shoots down a paparazzo's helicopter with a bazooka in the video for "High by the Beach"—Del Rey puts the joke on you for demanding more from her shtick after all that scrutiny. "We both know that it's not fashionable to love me," she sings on the title track. On this album, she's given up on persuading you to. —NOLAN FEENEY

> The songs could take a lesson from Instagram—applying a nostalgic filter isn't always enough to make great art

MUSIC

Synth-pop evangelists

WITH ITS DEBUT ALBUM, *The Bones of What You Believe,* Glaswegian pop group Chvrches became a critical darling in 2013 on the merits of its sparkly, synth-driven sound. The band's songs referenced acts like Prince and Depeche Mode with bright keys, sharp hooks and layers of electronic tracks. But its greatest strength is the penetrating voice of front woman Lauren Mayberry, who can sound at once sweet and defiant. On the trio's new album, *Every Open Eye* (Sept. 25), they use her instrument to ascend to greater heights.

The band spent its entire advance on synths, and it shows. Opener "Never Ending Circles" attacks from the first note, juxtaposing a pummeling growl with Mayberry's looped staccato vocals. On "Clearest Blue," a shuffling beat detonates into a cathartic club jumper, while "Make Them Gold" glitters like an '80s pop anthem.

Still, Chvrches isn't afraid to rein it in for a quieter moment. The closer, "Afterglow," makes good on the band's name as that crystalline voice, buoyed by an organ, sounds like it's filling the contours of a hollow cathedral. It's a voice pure enough to make a believer of anyone. —ELIZA BERMAN

DEL REY: GETTY IMAGES

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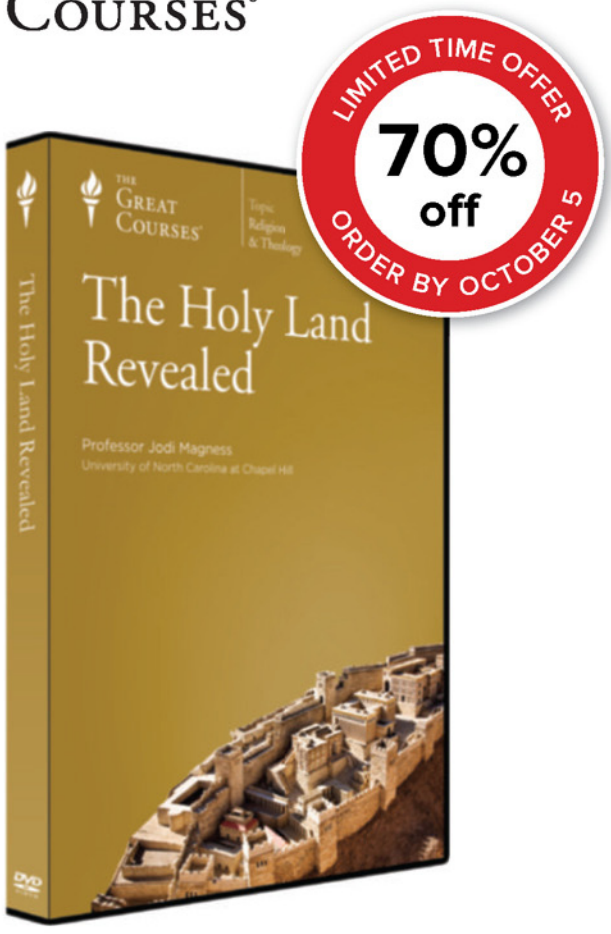

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The rise of the suburban Spartacus

By Sean Gregory

A competitor leaps across a ring of fire during a Spartan Race in Montana. The events are now in 20 countries, and the championship will air on NBC

IF THERE WAS ANY DOUBT THAT WEEKEND WARriors are America's new heroes, let Amelia Boone put it to rest. This summer, the 32-year-old corporate-restructuring attorney was riding the el to work in downtown Chicago when a stranger approached. "Are you Amelia Boone?" she asked. "I'm a huge fan." Boone may be skilled at drafting legal documents, but she owed the midcommute groupie to her other job: leaping over fire and slithering through mud in the increasingly competitive world of extreme obstacle-course racing.

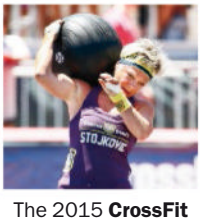
Over the past five years, events like Tough Mudder, Warrior Dash and Spartan Race have proved that there's a market for masochism, attracting millions of amateur athletes willing to pay for the privilege of enduring pain. As they've grown in popularity, corporate sponsors and television networks have taken notice, giving teachers and tax preparers the chance to become prime-time gold medalists. The CrossFit Games, a competition based on the popular exercise regimen, has found a home on ESPN. *American Ninja Warrior,* a made-for-TV showdown in which regular Joes and Janes tackle dramatic obstacles, has turned the genre into a bona fide ratings success. The show's Sept. 14 season finale on NBC, which saw busboy Isaac Caldiero win the $1 million first prize, drew over 6 million viewers and tied *Dancing With the Stars* for the highest broadcast ratings among the coveted ages of 18 to 49.

Now the programming maestros are betting on Spartan Race to become the next amateur phenomenon to go mainstream. The company is on pace to hold 120 events in 20 countries in 2015, up from 39 events in 2011, and nearly 1 million people will participate in a Spartan Race this year. In 2013, Reebok became a sponsor. Last year, Spartan Race signed a deal with NBC to air the world championship—this year's will take place Oct. 3 in Squaw Valley, the California resort area that hosted the 1960 Winter Olympics—and five other events on sports cable outfit NBCSN. The network says viewership is up 30% over last year. And a producer of *American Ninja Warrior* is working on a reality show about Spartan Race contestants to air in 2016.

Spartan Races are similar to other obstacle courses: over more than a dozen miles, contestants climb ropes, throw spears, drag tires and dodge fire. But the brand sees itself as a more competitive alternative to rivals like Tough Mudder, which emphasize the camaraderie of the experience. "It's the difference between Frisbee and football," says Spartan Race founder and CEO Joe De Sena, a former Wall Street trader. "We're trying to become football."

EXTREME EXERCISE ON TV

The Sept. 14 season finale of ***American Ninja Warrior*** on NBC was a top-rated show on broadcast TV among 18-to-49-year-olds



The 2015 **CrossFit Games,** whose finals were shown on ESPN, drew 273,000 competitors and gave out $2 million in prize money

A big part of the appeal, however, is that these athletes aren't Peyton Manning. In addition to lawyer Boone, top Spartan Racers include a schoolbus driver, a roofer, a high school shop teacher, a photographer and a ski-patrol nurse. "I learned how many different types of people were out there doing these races," says Rob Simmelkjaer, senior vice president of NBC Sports Ventures, who negotiated the deal with Spartan Race. "It wasn't just the elite athletes. It was everyday people who were trying to find something in themselves that they hoped was there. This mix, these really moving human-interest stories, convinced me that yes, this could work on television." Call it sports reality TV.

When the TV show *American Gladiators* gained a following in the 1990s, its puffed-up namesake bodybuilders were the attraction. The regular jocks who took them on were little more than anonymous chum. The rise of events like Spartan Race has reversed that situation, with fans looking up to everyday athletes. "It makes Spartan Race something that is aspirational but within reach," Simmelkjaer says of turning cubicle jockeys into stars. "When you watch the NBA, you may in your dreams aspire to be LeBron James. But you know it's not within reach. But you can run alongside Amelia Boone."

Who as it happens remains perfectly content to run alongside you. Despite her growing fame, Boone is happy competing part time. "I don't want this to be the work part of my life," she says. "I want to keep it as the fun part." ◻

SPARTAN RACE: BRENDA AHEARN—DAILY INTER LAKE; AMERICAN NINJA WARRIOR: NBC; CROSSFIT GAMES: ©2014 CROSSFIT INC. USED WITH PERMISSION FROM CROSSFIT INC.

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Branded-content firm Swyft Media **released a POPEMOJI mobile-keyboard app** to celebrate His Holiness's visit to North America.

Marvel revealed that acclaimed author **Ta-Nehisi Coates will write** its next wave of Black Panther comics.

Oscar Mayer created **a dating app for bacon lovers.** It's called Sizzl.

Kevin Spacey **finally revealed** whom his *House of Cards* alter ego keeps addressing:

'I'm talking to one person and one person only, and that is Donald Trump.'

Musicians Lorde and Drake **posed for a photo** at Kanye West's fashion show, fueling fan demand for a musical collaboration.

Game of Thrones won **12 Emmys** during the Sept. 20 ceremony, setting a single-year record.

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON** **LOVE IT** **LEAVE IT** **WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Hundreds of wild bunnies have **descended upon Langley, Wash.,** burrowing holes in school fields, destroying building foundations and posing feces-related health risks.

As part of a marketing stunt for Cinnamon Toast Crunch, General Mills **launched a Selfie Spoon** that enables users to document how they eat cereal.

The League star Steve Rannazzisi admitted to **fabricating a story** about escaping the 9/11 attacks.

Award-winning architect Zaha Hadid confirmed that she is **abandoning her bid** to design a supersleek stadium *(above)* for the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo. The project was derailed by cost and controversy.

The new line of *Star Wars* stamps is **available only in the U.K.**

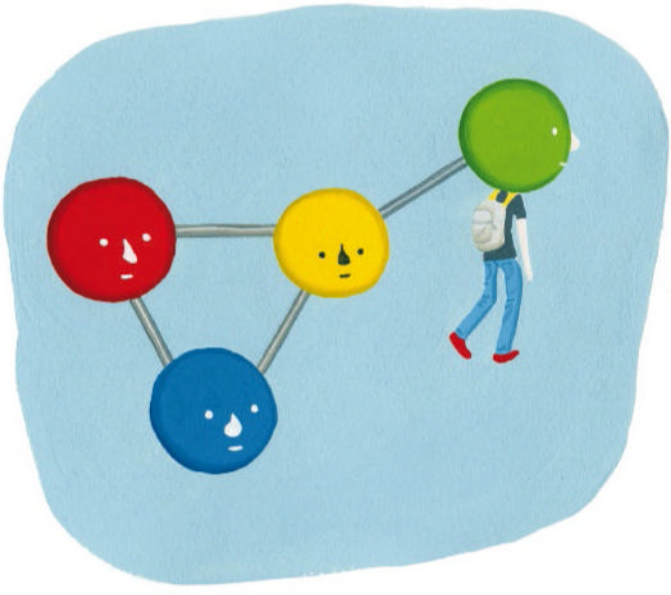
POPEMOJI: SWYFT MEDIA; BLACK PANTHER: MARVEL; BACON, RABBITS: ALAMY; SPACEY, DRAKE, LORDE, RANNAZZISI, GAME OF THRONES: GETTY IMAGES; SELFIE SPOON: GENERAL MILLS; STADIUM: ZAHA HADID ARCHITECTS

By Daniel D'Addario, Nolan Feeney, Samantha Grossman and Ashley Ross

ESSAY

The sibling equation: learning to parent all over again after one child leaves home

By Susanna Schrobsdorff



THESE DAYS, WHEN SOMEONE'S CHOCOLATE BAR HAS BEEN pilfered or a brand-new eyeliner has been left to dry out, there's not much doubt as to who did it. It's either me or my younger daughter. Just a month ago, such accusations could be thrown into a stew of three females in one house, leaving just enough ambiguity that there was always a shade of doubt. Now my older girl is at college, and so a new kind of involuntary transparency is the rule. Of the two of us who remain, one is clearly guilty, and we both know who we are.

As the dust accumulates in that empty third bedroom, there's a readjustment going on between me and my 14-year-old, formerly known as the second child. We are re-creating our relationship bit by bit. We look at each other over breakfast or in the store or on the road with a mixture of wonder and familiarity. Without her sister as a foil or as a comparison, my younger daughter looks impossibly older, perilously close to leaving home herself. The house feels big. There's more space to be apart yet more opportunity to be together. We are both quietly, constantly reassembling the molecules of this family.

THE LAST TIME I felt this alone with her was the night she was born. All the visitors had gone home, and it was just us, side by side, watchful, exhausted and yet not sleeping. It was the night before Mother's Day, and I was pretty smug about the whole motherhood thing. I thought because I'd raised one girl to age 4, I'd know what I was doing with the second one. Oh, how wrong I was.

I took that baby home to her older sister, and it was like adding some combustible element to our family. The new girl was so radically different from her sister that her dad and I had to recalculate our parental expectations daily like a frantic GPS. The little one was hyperaware of everything, while her sister could disappear into her toys or her own mind, oblivious to everything around her. I'd have to shout at the single-minded older child to get her attention when she was on the verge of running into a herd of bicyclists at the park or in danger of slipping under someone's feet at the swings. The first time I yelled like that with the younger girl, she collapsed in tears. Like most siblings, they were just calibrated differently, leaving us parents to keep up, to try to be the right kind of mother or father for each child at the right moment.

By the time the younger was 3, she was like the neighborhood mayor. She knew all the cashiers at the grocery store by name. "Miriam, I love your earrings," she'd say, and her older sister would roll her eyes and go back to her book, determined not to compete. Later, one would play Lady Macbeth in middle school, and the other one was a stage manager and director in high school. Complementary sides of a familial coin, they fought, they laughed, they made up their own skits, and they had their own language, one often used to mock their parents. Over time they became a new compound, a unique entity separate from us. Sisters. And when their dad and I divorced, they held on to each other like soldiers in a storm as they switched houses.

They are now profoundly different yet shaped by each other. And I'm shaped by them. I've pursued that futile quest to be fair, to distribute attention equally. Now it's disorienting to let one go and have more for the other. The younger one is navigating this new terrain warily. Her sister still sets the course, is still first to leave home, to choose a college. But day to day, the younger one no longer has the sibling against whom she has measured herself all her life. She can stretch her long legs, take up the whole sofa, take all the blame for whatever mess has been made and all the credit for making me laugh. She also gets to tease me in her own way, and I her. We're developing our own vocabulary, our own dyad. My older girl is creating a new version of herself at college. One I haven't met yet. I see it in her texts, hear it in her voice on the phone.

I know both will keep evolving. With any luck, they'll come home with new partners, with children, with experiences I can't match, problems I can't help them solve, victories I had nothing to do with. They will learn that they are different people at work than they are with their friends or with me. They'll learn that we're all constantly recombining the molecules of who we are to ourselves and to each other. And like most things, these are lessons that they will have learned first with each other. They are each other's teachers after all. And mine too. □

ILLUSTRATION BY JULIETTE BORDA FOR TIME

Nancy Meyers The *Intern* writer-director on the state of the rom-com, female bosses and how she (may have) inspired Amy Schumer's signature skit

Why did you write about a friendship between a young female boss [Anne Hathaway] and her older male intern [Robert De Niro]? I wish as a young woman I had had someone who was not my shrink, not my parent, but a wonderful person watching my back. Ben [De Niro] is not damaged, and a lot of the men I've written have been. It made me think about men I knew when I was a little girl—my dad, my grandfather—and how that kind of man seems to be disappearing.

In *The Intern* you posit that today's young women grew up with girl power, but men did not receive the same encouragement. Are young men stunted? When my daughters were growing up, Oprah was on TV every day pushing girls forward. Meanwhile boys fell in love with video games. These boys turned into men who wear hoodies and don't shave. I think there is a reluctance to embrace adulthood. Obviously, that's a generalization. I'm not talking about my son-in-law!

You've done a lot of rom-coms. This is more of a platonic bud-com, but there are always headlines, THE ROM-COM IS DEAD. The rom-com has been in a bit of a coma. Perhaps not dead. I've noticed all my life if I ask, "How did you two meet?" the whole table turns and listens. Everyone's interested in relationships. There's a ceiling to how much money rom-coms can make, but *Trainwreck* was a hit.

Have you seen Amy Schumer's "Last F—able Day" sketch? I bumped into Julia Louis-Dreyfus at the farmers' market after I saw it. I asked, "Were you talking about my movies?" And she said, "What do you mean?" very quickly and kind of guiltily. I said, "You know, you talked about Jack Nicholson and turtlenecks." I told her it was so great.

It reminded me of you because you are one of the few directors who wouldn't send a woman off on a boat after she reached the age of 40. The boat to oblivion! Yes, I've been able to make movies with women over 40 years old and over 50 and over 60. And in this case, a man over 70.

Which is also rare. And he doesn't die. Men that age in movies always die. He's very much alive throughout.

Do you feel a responsibility to portray women in a certain way? Absolutely. Often in movies the female boss is the villain—a sexual predator or a tight-ass nobody likes. I talked to Anne about how there's a built-in prejudice toward the female boss, and we had to counter it.

Hathaway has faced similar labeling issues, being called "too perfect" or "unlikable." Why? She became very successful at a very young age.

> 'In movies the female boss is a sexual predator or a tight-ass.'

I'm not sure a guy with that kind of talent and looks and ability—she's unbelievably talented—would have encountered that criticism. She's a fantastic young woman.

Were there any women who inspired her character? Not a real CEO. She is in a long line of working women that I've written.

You've worked with all-stars: Meryl Streep, Nicholson. Who's on your wish list? Ryan Gosling has it all. Leonardo DiCaprio is as good as they get. I have no idea if he'd be interested in doing anything other than the movies he makes.

De Niro made those kind of movies. That's true. If I'm around when Leo turns 70, maybe it'll work out.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

JAVIER SIRVENT FOR TIME

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